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Japan Report

(FOUO 39/82)

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CONTENTS

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

Paper Discounts Japan's Role at Versailles Summit (Minoru Hirano; THE DAILY YOMIURI, 13 Jun 82)	1
LDP Main Factions' Positions Described (YOMIURI SHIMBUN, 1, 4, 5 May 82)	3
Impact of 8 June Judgment on Tanaka Faction Assessed (Takuo Hayashi; MAINICHI DAILY NEWS, 13 Jun 82)	11
Draft Resolution on 16th JCP Congress (AKAHATA, 11 Jun 82)	13

ECONOMIC

Stagnant Export Industries Outlined (Keiji Ikehata; EKONOMISTO, 18 May 82)	56
Japan Adjusts Auto-VTR Inventories Overseas (NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, 11 Jun 82)	59

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

First Electron-Bombardment Thruster Developed (ASAHI EVENING NEWS, 8 Jun 82)	61
New Function Semiconductor Makes 10 Patent Applications (NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, 18 Jun 82)	62

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

PAPER DISCOUNTS JAPAN'S ROLE AT VERSAILLES SUMMIT

Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 13 Jun 82 p 3

[From "Behind the Scene" Column by Minoru Hirano]

[Text]

Prime Minister Suzuki told the Japanese press corps after the Versailles summit on June 6 that the meeting fully deserved a passing mark.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa expressed high appreciation, saying that Prime Minister Suzuki and the Japanese delegation performed a positive role in forging a consensus among the sum-miteers.

One peculiarity of the recent summit reportedly was an unexpectedly sharp confrontation between the US and Western Europe over currency problems and credits to the Soviet Union. For this reason, criticism of Japan in connection with trade frictions, which Japan had feared, was not heard. Some observers wryly said the greatest harvest for Japan at this summit was that this country did not come under a cross fire.

It was also said that because Japan took a neutral position on all issues, it could stay aloof from the conflicts between the US and Western Europe and perform the role of mediator.

According to a spokesman for the Japanese delegation, Prime Minister Suzuki said, when trouble arose on the currency issue, that the stabilization of currencies was important and the countries concerned should cooperate. In regard to proposed curbs on credits to the Soviet Union, he said that Western unity was all-important, that not a single country should break that unity and that a general policy course should be hammered out now.

We need not accept such recapitulations by the government at their face values. It was said that at the preceding Ottawa summit, Suzuki had said only "yes." Suzuki had to vindicate his honor at the Versailles summit. This was his hidden intention.

A high Foreign Ministry official rated

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the Versailles summit more coolly. He said the meeting settled none of the problems on the agenda. He said:

"Regarding the problem of curbing credits to the Soviet Union, the Western camp had to form a convoy and go ahead. But the member countries of the Western camp failed to agree on whether to adjust their speed to the slowness of Europe or, even at the risk of letting two or three countries fall behind, to the speed of the US. After all, they decided to go ahead at their respective paces."

The post-summit joint communique used weasel word expressions about the problem of curbing credits to the Soviet Union, saying that the "development of economic and financial relations will be subject to periodic ex post review."

According to the Foreign Ministry official, the personal representatives of the heads of state met three times to discuss this problem before the summit and prepared several alternative drafts of this part of the joint communique. What was used in the final communique was the version prepared for use when the sum-miteers failed to reach accord. It was not the job of Suzuki only.

Despite propaganda by the Japanese Government, the yen's decline accelerated after the summit, and financial circles branded the summit as a failure. The following criticism began to be heard in Japan:

- The Japanese delegation was overly sensitive of criticism over the trade friction with the US and Europe. For this reason, Japan took an evasive attitude from beginning to end though it was in a position to propose a constructive plan to rehabilitate the international monetary system.

- The US and Western Europe fought each other, with their respective national interests at stake, to elicit concessions from each other because their assessments of the Soviet Union and their economic policies differ. But Japan adhered to a "peace at any price" policy.

The Japanese Government praises itself by saying that Japan served as a mediator at the Versailles summit. But we doubt that other countries which took part in the summit appreciate Japan in the same way.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

LDP MAIN FACTIONS' POSITIONS DESCRIBED

Tokyo YOMIURI SHIMBUN in Japanese 1, 4, 5 May 82

[Article: "Emerging Trends in the LDP Politics of 1982"]

[1 May 82 p 2]

[Text] The 1982 political scene opened with predictions of "great disturbances in the world" (former Prime Minister Fukuda). While the Suzuki and Tanaka factions have been steadily preparing for Suzuki's reelection, the Fukuda, Komoto, and Nakagawa factions have suddenly begun strengthening their critical posture toward the Suzuki-Tanaka regime. The undercurrent in the political situation certainly seems to have begun moving toward the LDP presidential election this fall. While keeping an eye on the post-Suzuki period, every faction, including the Nakasone faction, which has kept silent, is preparing for the summer and fall battles. What is in the minds of each faction's leading members....

Two Eyes of Typhoons Have Begun Moving

One day in early April, Rokusuke Tanaka, the chairman of LDP's Policy Research Council and one of those close to the prime minister, "tempted" Economic Planning Agency Director Komoto by saying: "Mr Komoto, wouldn't you like to go to the Versailles summit (the advanced nations' summit conference)?" Bewildered, Komoto asked: "Doesn't Mr Abe (MITI Minister) want to go?" Tanaka answered: "No problem, you can squeeze yourself in."

Prime Minister Suzuki had Komoto accompany him to the North-South summit last fall and succeeded in keeping Komoto in his cabinet. Recurrence of the same pattern....

"Komoto will resign his cabinet post some day. If an LDP presidential election primary is held, he will surely resign." It was a firstclass check by Tanaka, who has a unique sense for anticipating situations.

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One month has passed since then. Komoto has been speaking not only about economic issues but also about defense issues and emphasizing his "existence." He has also had a meeting with former Prime Minister Fukuda, for which he carefully chose the timing. "Two eyes of typhoons have at last begun moving"--those surrounding the prime minister have assumed a stance.

In June there will be no shortage of uncertain factors which will shake the political arena. The first verdicts will be handed down to the political defendants in the Lockheed incident, and the revenue deficit in FY-81 will be revealed to be 2 trillion yen. Moreover, administrative reform budget compilation, trade friction...difficult hurdles follow one after another. As Tanaka has read the situation, if Komoto runs in a primary election and Abe and others follow him, a primary election will be held. In such a case, it will be a task of extreme difficulty for the prime minister, who has been indifferent about recruiting LDP members, to obtain the highest vote total in a primary election.

"Don't worry, such a thing won't happen," says the prime minister. In spite of the difficult environment, he displays tremendous confidence to leading members of the Suzuki faction who are concerned. "Anybody can offer criticism. If my way is wrong, they should offer specific countermeasures." Whoever becomes prime minister, this difficult situation will remain unchanged. The bill for deficit government bonds issued under the Fukuda administration is now being presented. Komoto himself is responsible for the economic slump, isn't he? The prime minister has been hinting at a joint responsibility theory between the lines. He seems to judge that "Komoto and Abe (a Fukuda faction member) lack a just cause for rebellion against Suzuki."

Confidence Supported by the Tanaka Faction

What firms up Suzuki's confidence is the support of the Tanaka faction, the strongest corps in the LDP. The Tanaka faction has 109 Diet members. To Together with 86 Suzuki faction members, it accounts for almost half of the 423 LDP Diet members. Even if the three factions critical of the Suzuki administration are united, they total only 129, far from the total number of the Tanaka and Suzuki factions.

The Suzuki and Tanaka Regime, a Strategy of Harmony

As long as the Tanaka faction, which has been gasping under the heavy pressure of the Lockheed incident, is in a situation where "there is no option other than Suzuki's reelection" (a leading member of the Tanaka faction), Suzuki will win overwhelmingly in the LDP presidential balloting by LDP Diet members even if a primary election is held. It is an indication of the strategy of simple harmony that the Suzuki-Tanaka regime is a sum-of-one-plus-one regime [the Japanese character for "sum" also means "harmony"].

The Suzuki regime is said to be a monolithic regime. When scratched, however, it reveals unexpected fragility. From the beginning of the Suzuki administration, dissatisfaction over personnel matters has been smoldering within the Tanaka faction. Although the Tanaka faction gained the central positions

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in the LDP in the last personnel change and cabinet reshuffle, Tokusaburo Kosaka, the Tanaka faction's recommendation for minister of foreign affairs, was appointed minister of transportation. On the issue of reforming the upper house's nationwide electoral district, the focus of attention in the current Diet session, the leading members of the Tanaka faction who have been actually negotiating were placed in a difficult position because the prime minister had not made up his mind until recently.

"Suzuki never gets his own hands dirty. He always makes use of us," is a complaint that is constantly heard within the Tanaka faction.

"Suzuki became prime minister in a frock. If he is careless, he will die suddenly," wisecracked former Prime Minister Tanaka the other day in a meeting with young members of the Suzuki faction. His tone contained a touch of cynicism in recognition of the voices within the Tanaka faction.

Tanaka's earnest wish is to overcome the Lockheed incident and to restore the power of the Tanaka faction as a whole.

For this purpose, elections to both the House of Representatives and Councilors should be held under the direction of the LDP Secretary General Nikaido and Deputy Secretary General Takeshita. Then, "the Tanaka faction membership will number 135" (former Prime Minister Tanaka).

Tanaka's remark appears to be a threat warning the Suzuki faction that Suzuki's reelection is a means for restoration of the Tanaka faction and that the Tanaka faction does not unconditionally support Suzuki's reelection.

Former Prime Minister Tanaka intends to have his son-in-law run in the next House of Representatives election from the same district as Kunikichi Saito, the chief clerk of the Suzuki faction. This is one example.

"Suzuki became prime minister accidentally. You have served enough, haven't you? Give the job to Fukuda or Komoto." Recently, this message was delivered to Suzuki from former Prime Minister Kishi. Since Sato, no prime minister has succeeded in being reelected. When Suzuki received Kishi's message, the supposedly confident prime minister's face clouded over for a moment without a word.

[4 May 82 p 2]

First to Hold a Study Meeting

One evening in early April, Agriculture Minister Tazawa was greeting former agriculture ministers with complete graciousness. He invited to a party at the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries annex in Sanban-cho, Tokyo, eight former agriculture ministers such as Prime Minister Suzuki, former Prime Minister Fukuda, Tadao Kuraishi, Raizo Matsuno, Munenori Akagi.... Suzuki, glass in hand, smiled to the other participants and was in a good

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mood. Soon, the participants formed groups of close friends and talked within the groups. Fukuda, surrounded by Matsuno, Nakagawa (the director of the Science and Technology Agency and others, grieved over the crisis in national finances even on this kind of occasion, which was fitting for a financial expert.

"We often make erroneous economic forecasts. However, when we make a mistake, we have to take new measures. We cannot allow ourselves to stand idly by and watch the situation." He criticized Suzuki, who will not even freeze expenditures partially, in spite of a FY-81 revenue deficit that will certainly reach 2 trillion yen. One person told Fukuda: "It is your turn to act in this political situation. You should speak out." To him, Fukuda nodded, but said: "I cannot speak now. Well, let's watch for the government's efforts."

"There will be great disturbances in the world this year. Even if I don't move, heaven will move." At the beginning of the year, Fukuda often issued such warnings. Recently, however, he has been keeping silent in public places. The reasons why are his realization that he cannot move thoughtlessly and his good sense that criticism of the government before the Versailles summit (starting 4 June) is against the national interest.

Nevertheless, before any other factions, the Fukuda faction will hold a virtual faction study meeting in Hakone on 19 June. In order to lighten the factional color of the meeting, the meeting is being called "a meeting to gather with Mr and Mrs Fukuda." Fukuda is on the verge of breaking his silence there.

It will be after the first verdicts handed down to political defendants in the Lockheed trial (8 June). The verdicts are said to be certain to be guilty. The revenue deficit also will be determined by then. Moreover, Suzuki is travelling overseas to attend Versailles summit, the United Nations' Special Session on Disarmament, and to visit South America in order to avoid the impact of the verdicts, and he will return to Japan on 18 June "when the excitement will have cooled down" (a middlestanding member of the Suzuki faction). The Fukuda faction meeting will be held on the day after 18 June. It is very good timing.

When the Desire Arises, Can He Not Speak?

"Mr Fukuda has a desire to make a comeback as prime minister. When he has the desire, he cannot speak out." Those close to the prime minister check Fukuda in this manner. Fukuda, on the other hand, complains to those close to him: "The political situation is depressing. Suppressed by the power of numbers (the Tanaka faction), dissatisfaction has been accumulating in the LDP. Some day, it will explode." But will Fukuda "declare war" by himself?

If Fukuda decides to rebel against the Suzuki-Tanaka regime in preparation for the fall battle, Nakagawa will move and Shintaro Abe (MITI minister) will follow. Even though Fukuda is powerless in terms of numbers before the huge wall of the Suzuki-Tanaka regime, the weight of his words as an elder statesman is unrivaled. Furthermore, behind Fukuda is former Prime Minister

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Kishi, the father-in-law of Abe, who is explicitly urging Suzuki to retire as prime minister. While some are speaking ill of Kishi, as if he were Hideyoshi Toyotomi, who in his later years misjudged the political situation because of blind love for Hideyori (Abe), Kishi has become an LDP supreme counselor and has returned to the front of the political stage. He is scheming to have either Fukuda or Komoto steal political power.

Nakagawa says: "I am ready at any time." Abe says: "I have served as MITI minister long enough. I can resign at any time." These two are ready to resign their cabinet posts and make a political change as soon as they receive the command from Fukuda. They also keep close contact with Toshio Komoto (director of the Economic Planning Agency), whose resignation people also have been talking about.

About a half a month ago, Abe met secretly with Komoto in Okayama while on a business trip. They spent a long time talking about the prospects of the political situation this fall. Immediately afterward, a Fukuda-Komoto meeting was held. The unseen thread is gradually becoming visible.

Nevertheless, there is a great difference between Fukuda's and Komoto's philosophies even on the issue of economic management. Within the Fukuda faction, there is a mood of war-weariness: "We flatly refuse a recurrence of the 40-day struggle for the other faction (the Komoto faction)." It is contradictory for Fukuda, who opposes a primary election, to have Abe run in a primary. Moreover, even if Abe and other Fukuda faction members resign their cabinet posts, the future prospects cannot be foreseen.

"Training is not good. They cannot unite to 'oppose-Suzuki'." Those close to the prime minister have been spreading cynical remarks as if they can see through Fukuda's dilemma. In the midst of such cynical remarks, what is "the Komon of the Showa era" about to say? [Komon was Tokugawa Mitsukuni, 17th century daimyo of the Mito domain who, after retirement, travelled around the country in disguise with two young aides and used a variety of clever stratagems to right the wrongs perpetrated by wicked samurai officials. Showa is the present era.]

[5 May 82 p 2]

Disabled Birds in a Cage

The Diet Members Office Building in Nagata-cho, Tokyo. A hot debate continued in the office of Toshio Komoto (director of the Economic Planning Agency). It was the mid-April caretakers meeting of the Komoto faction.

"When a verdict is handed down, how do we respond? The media will ask us for comment." "We can say that we are 'for' the request for Takayuki Sato to resign as a Diet member, can't we?" "It will be too late to say this and that when a verdict is handed down to Tanaka. We must have a definite response to the verdict on Sato." "How is Mr Komoto going to deal with the matter?"

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Middle-standing and young members, who received training and lessons from former Prime Minister Miki--Heisuke Kujiraoka for example--stood up and asked leading members for their thinking one after another. However, high-ranking members such as Kinju Moriyama said nothing.

Unlike Miki, who is fanatically "antiplutocrat," Komoto is aiming for the prime ministership by maintaining harmony with other LDP members. The questions really touched on his weakness. Komoto was not present at that meeting. In order to avoid exciting other factions, members were strictly prohibited from talking about this Achilles' heel of Komoto. The scene revealed the agony of Komoto's strategy.

Both Yasuhiro Nakasone (director of the Administrative Management Agency) and Komoto are powerful persons aiming for the post-Suzuki prime ministership. However, their factions are the fourth and fifth largest, following the Tanaka, Suzuki and Fukuda factions. Their factions each have less than 50 LDP Diet members and cannot run a candidate by themselves in the LDP presidential primary election. Both Nakasone and Komoto have been taken into Suzuki's cabinet and have become disabled birds in a cage.

In this environment, Komoto has made the first move.

On 27 March Komoto met with Fukuda, who has been critical of the Suzuki-Tanaka regime, for the first time this year. Concerning Komoto, it has been said that "unless he moves, he cannot grab political power" (a leading member of the Suzuki faction). At last, speculation spread within the LDP that Komoto would cooperate with Fukuda. Komoto, however, would only comment that "Mr Fukuda is the authority on economic policy."

Cannot Wait Until Next Time

Komoto's basic strategy is to maneuver large factions with many members in preparation for the selection of the LDP president by LDP Diet members. For this purpose, he has contacted not only Fukuda but also the leading members of the Fukuda faction, such as MITI Minister Abe and Shiokawa, the deputy chairman of the LDP Executive Committee. Moreover, he has had meetings with former Director General of the Defense Agency Kanemaru, a leading member of the Tanaka faction. It is a strategy of "steadily permeating the LDP with the Komoto colors" (Naozo Shibuya, the chief caretaker of the Komoto faction). However, the possibility of Fukuda supporting Komoto in this fall's decisive battle remains completely immersed "in a fog" (a leading member of the Komoto faction). Komoto faces harsh realities.

Concerning rumors that Komoto will resign his cabinet post in June or confront Suzuki over economic policy, Komoto clearly denies them when he says: "Don't worry about such things."

It is certain, however, that Komoto, 71 years old, the same as the prime minister, "cannot pass this fall's presidential election and wait for the next one in 1984" (Shibuya).

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While trying to approach Fukuda, Komoto is giving his best efforts in his current position and is acquiring a reputation as "Komoto, the policy man." His strategy seems to be to wait for "the development of the complex conditions which will permit Komoto to run in the presidential election" (Shibuya). But, "isn't he pro-Tanaka?" The Fukuda faction still talks accusingly of Komoto's attempt to approach Tanaka last summer.

"At any rate, he is the successor to Miki. We have to be cautious about him." The Tanaka faction's doubts are strong.

Recently, Komoto travelled throughout the country to campaign for the new faces of the Komoto faction who are planning to run in the next elections to both houses. He has also contacted leaders of the middle-of-the-road parties such as Ikko Kasuga, the permanent counselor of the Democratic Socialist Party, in order to exchange opinions about the political situation and policies. He displays "new movements" of these types. Even if Suzuki is reelected in the presidential election this fall, a radical political change may follow Suzuki's reelection. It seems certain that Komoto has begun moving in preparation for it.

Exclusively Repeats "Administrative Reform"

Meanwhile, Nakasone exclusively repeats the words "administrative reform" and stakes his political life on it. Even if party opinion is divided over the issue of reforming the Japan National Railways, and he is asked to do various things and is attacked from every direction, he is ready to stick to a principle and commit double suicide together with the administrative reform. "It will never become a disadvantage," says Sosuke Uno, the chief caretaker of the Nakasone faction. The calculation is that Nakasone's efforts will wipe out his reputation as one who "wants to be too good all the time," and build a new image of Nakasone within the LDP.

Pleased by the 6,000 people who gathered at a recent party of the faction, Nakasone displayed his hidden confidence in saying: "This is an advance toward our great wish."

To Nakasone, the road toward political power is also narrow and hard. The Fukuda faction, whose schemes failed due by Nakasone's change of heart at decisive moments in the past, such as the first Tanaka-Fukuda battle, is very cautious about Nakasone.

Contrary to their home prefecture's desire for a "Joshu League," there is no pipeline between Fukuda and Nakasone at present.

One of the political defendants in the Lockheed incident whom the Fukuda and Komoto factions are watching with stern faces is a leading member of the Nakasone faction, Takayuki Sato. Nakasone's attitude is to wait for Suzuki to "abdicate" by exclusively approaching the Suzuki-Tanaka regime.

Leading members worry that "We will be put into a straightjacket if we stick only to Tanaka," and that they have no guarantee of the Suzuki-Tanaka camp's support for Nakasone.

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Behind the repetition of the words "administrative reform," Nakasone is now trying to strengthen friendship with the Tanaka faction's leading members, including LDP Secretary General Nikaido and Gotoda (the chairman of the Election System Research Council), in preparation for the day of abdication.

The two who are stooping to conquer do not seem to have found "the clincher" yet.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

IMPACT OF 8 JUNE JUDGMENT ON TANAKA FACTION ASSESSED

Tokyo MAINICHI DAILY NEWS in English 13 Jun 82 p 2

[From "Political Periscope" Column by Takuo Hayashi]

[Text]

The judgment of the Tokyo District Court last week, finding two senior Japanese politicians guilty in connection with the Lockheed scandal was quite ominous for former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. The prosecution is expected to demand a sentence against Tanaka this fall and the decision of the Tokyo District Court will be given sometime next spring. The current judgment of guilty strongly suggests that Tanaka, too, will be found guilty. Even if "a hammer should miss the ground," he will not escape a "guilty" verdict.

Moreover, another thing unfortunate for Tanaka is that as a result of the current judgment, his confidant Susumu Nikaido, Liberal-Democratic Party's secretary general, is receiving concentrated attacks from the opposition parties. The judgment clearly suggests that the so-called "gray officials" including Nikaido are deeply embroiled in the kickback scandals. Hence, Nikaido has found himself in a tight fix.

How will the recent turn of events affect the position of Tanaka and his faction in Japanese politics? Will there be many leaving the faction, regarding Tanaka's future

political career as given up for good? Will the powerful influence of the Tanaka faction within the Liberal-Democratic Party decline? The answer to these questions is "definitely no." For the time being at least, none will drop out and the Tanaka faction will continue having its powerful say.

The LDP Diet members total 423 at present, including 283 in the House of Representatives and 136 in the House of Councillors. Of them, the Tanaka faction includes 106 members — 64 in the House of Representatives and 44 in the House of Councillors. In other words, one out of four LDP Diet members belongs to the Tanaka faction. Of the five large LDP factions, the Tanaka faction is by far the largest. (Tanaka who is the boss of the faction is an independent House of Representatives member and the faction totals 109 if he is included.)

'Mutual Aid

Why has the Tanaka faction grown up to be such a large faction? It is because the faction functions as an extremely effective "mutual aid organization" for those affiliated with it. The most important function of "mutual aid" concerns the acquisition of

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such posts as cabinet ministers, parliamentary vice ministers and LDP executives. In addition, the faction is capable of developing a very effective function in the field of exercising pressure on officials to meet the demand of the voters and collecting necessary information through exchange of information. That is why the number of the Tanaka faction members increases, and if the members increase in number, its function and influence also expand. In this manner the Tanaka faction has continued expanding.

The function of the Tanaka faction as an "effective mutual aid system" will not decline so long as the Tanaka faction continues maintaining its solidarity. Even if the boss should be found guilty, the situation may remain unchanged.

Moreover, anyone who betrays and leaves a boss when the latter is in a fix is criticized and despised as "ungrateful" in Japan. In this regard, the Tanaka faction is maintaining its monolithic unity even at this time when it has become certain that Tanaka will be found guilty.

Now that the Tanaka faction maintains such a powerful influence, it requires courage for any other faction to make an enemy of the Tanaka faction. Former Prime Ministers Takeo

Miki and Takeo Fukuda are apparently anti-Tanaka, but judging from the general trends within the LDP, most are not much enthusiastic about attacking and criticizing Tanaka and his faction. For instance, although the Komoto faction is a successor to the Miki faction, its faction chieftain, Toshio Komoto, director general of the Economic Planning Agency, has not sided with the criticism made by Miki against Tanaka.

Self-Reflection

There is another reason why the general trend in the LDP is passive in criticizing the Lockheed kickback scandal. It is that they entertain a sentiment of self-reflection such as: "Since it is next to impossible for politicians to keep a clean hand perfectly concerning political funds, I wonder if I am qualified to criticize Tanaka and Nikaido."

Based on such a self-reflection, there are not a few, even in the opposition parties, who are sympathetic inwardly with Tanaka and Nikaido. One of the top-ranking executives of a middle-of-the-road party says: "It is just like Ishikawa-Goemon criticizing Nezumi-kozo Jirokichi for any other politician to criticize Tanaka or Nikaido." Ishikawa-Goemon and Nezumi-kozo Jirokichi were the most notorious thieves in Japanese history.

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DRAFT RESOLUTION ON 16TH JCP CONGRESS

OW141035 Tokyo AKAHATA in Japanese 11 Jun 82 pp 9-11

[Draft resolution of the 16th congress of the JCP scheduled to open on 27 July, adopted at the 9th plenum of the JCP Central Committee on 9 June]

[Text] Chapter I. [Roman Numeral One] The World Situation and JCP's International Duty

1. The Deepening Crisis of World Capitalism

The 15th congress of the JCP characterized the crisis confronting capitalism in the world today as a "grave historical crisis in every political and economic aspect comparable to those that existed before and after World War I and II." International developments in the some 2 years since that congress have justified this characterization with many facts.

The world's capitalist economy, which experienced the second oil crunch, has been experiencing an ongoing recession since 1980. World trade declined and surplus production has become a problem. In the United States and West European countries, unemployment has rapidly increased, surpassing the highest levels of the postwar era. This recession has led to a severe inflation and fiscal bankruptcy in many countries, which in turn are making the world economic crisis even more serious. Under these circumstances, various quarters have signaled their warning of a "recurrence of the world crisis of the 1980's."

For decades, the world's monopoly capitalism has been using Keynesian policies, which systematized state monopoly capitalism and governmental intervention in the economy as the main pillars propping up the capitalist economy; amid the economic crisis today, however, the leaders themselves of such monopoly capitalist countries as the United States, Britain and Japan have been compelled to admit the collapse of such policies. The fact that they are left with few policy options in this crisis is making the vicious cycle of the economic crisis even more severe.

The first summit meeting of industrialized nations was held in 1975, offering the promise that cooperation among the major capitalist countries would enable the world to overcome the crisis; in the 8 years since then, these

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summits have failed to adopt any serious program to combat the crisis although they adopted measures to partially "adjust" policies from time to time. The total number of unemployed in the seven-member nations was 8.5 million in 1975; it has surpassed the 20-million level today.

The old international economic order centering on the United States began disintegrating in the early 1970's in the midst of the international monetary crisis and the oil crunch. This constitutes one of the most important aspects of the crisis of world capitalist economy. The monopoly capitalist countries, led by the United States, have made very possible effort to rebuild this international order but they have failed to achieve the kind of success they seek in this field. New contradictions and confrontations have emerged.

Developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which account for half of the world population, still find themselves under the burden of prolonged colonial rule. In addition, they continue to be subjected to economic pressures from imperialism and capitalism. Thus, as focal points of all the contradictions of world capitalist economy, these countries have experienced particularly severe economic difficulties in the world recession. Their total external debts grew 6 times in 10 years from \$87 billion in 1971 to \$524 billion in 1981. A World Bank report predicts that the number of people in the "absolute poverty" category in these countries will increase by another 100 million from the present 750 million by the end of this century.

The UN conference on environment held in May seriously warned that the environmental destruction of the earth--in the form of air and sea pollution, diminishing forests, desolation of green land, population increases and food problems, water shortages, increases in famine-struck populations and waste of resources--is progressing toward jeopardizing mankind's very survival. This warning is directed at no one but world capitalism which still has the bulk of the earth under its economic control.

The resolution of the 15th JPC Congress called for an "international struggle to impose democratic controls on multinational firms, establish economic sovereignty and establish a new international economic order on the basis of equality and fairness in opposition to attempts to reorganize in a reactionary way the existing international economic order which is dominated by the United States and which infringes upon the economic sovereignty of other nations." It has become all the more the urgent task for people of all countries to push this struggle, along with the struggle for democratic economic reforms in each country designed to eliminate control by monopoly capital and imperialism.

2. Plan for Limited Nuclear Warfare Poses Threat to All Nations

There is a growing tendency among reactionary imperialist and monopoly capitalist circles led by U.S. imperialism to try to find a way out of the ever-deepening crisis facing world capitalism through arms expansion, aggression and war. This

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tendency confronts all nations with the serious danger of a nuclear war. We cannot forget the historical fact that the 1930 economic crisis served as a signal for the forces of fascism and militarism to touch off war: the Japanese ruling circles were driven to wage a war of aggression against China; the crisis also paved the way for World War II.

Particularly the Reagan administration of the United States, which came to power under the banner of "a strong America," has overtly pursued a "policy of strength" with might and main while covering up its real nature behind a smokescreen of countering the "Soviet threat." The Reagan administration has stepped up acts of war, aggression and intervention while pushing a large-scale arms buildup centered around nuclear arms. It has increased rapid deployment forces in the Middle East-Persian Gulf region and the Korean Peninsula and intervened in such Latin American countries as Nicaragua and El Salvador, blatantly disregarding the sovereign rights of the people in these countries.

Highlighting the dangerous nature of the Reagan administration's superhawkish policy to all nations in the world is Reagan's concept of limited nuclear warfare, the feasibility of which he has reiterated time and time again.

As our party has pointed out all along, the limited nuclear warfare idea is a "nuclear war version of the policy of attacking other countries one by one," as mentioned in the report to the 14th JCP Congress, a policy which regards resort to nuclear war as a means to attain aggressive aims in target areas while avoiding an all-out nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The U.S. military has held this concept as the foundation of U.S. nuclear strategy over the past 10 years.

It is a serious matter that while saying that "in reflection" the United States lost the Vietnam War because it did not use nuclear weapons, the Reagan administration has hastened to increase its nuclear warfare capability in Europe and East Asia (including Japan) by bringing back this barbarous concept of nuclear warfare to the fore. This stems from a sinister attempt to turn nuclear weapons into "usable weapons," namely weapons which can be used in actual fighting without compunction, not stopping at using them as a means of a blackmail. This is fraught with the danger of escalation to all-out nuclear war.

The Reagan administration's stress on its limited nuclear war plan has brought to light the real role of U.S.-dominated military blocs such as NATO and the Japan-U.S. security treaty and has resulted in the collapse of the deceptive "nuclear umbrella theory." These military blocs are not "bulwarks" for the security of the participating nations but yokes which will lead to national ruin by making their territories theaters of nuclear warfare for the security of the United States. Nevertheless, the Reagan administration, with the aggressive strengthening of these military blocs as an important pillar of its "policy of strength," is pressing its allies to step up preparations for joint combat operations under U.S. leadership and to carry out a new arms

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buildup, in disregard of the voices of all nations against limited nuclear warfare. The Reagan administration itself is increasing its theater nuclear forces in a planned manner, including by planning deployment of cruise missiles in Japan and elsewhere.

With Japan and other allies, the Reagan administration has persistently taken a negative and obstructionist attitude in disarmament discussions in the United Nations and elsewhere toward disarmament measures, including on the resolution calling for a ban on the use of nuclear weapons which may possibly stand in its plan for limited nuclear warfare.

Under the Reagan administration, the danger of a limited nuclear war has become real, with the possibility of its being ignited by a clash anywhere in the world. It has become an urgent central task, literally a matter of national survival or death, for all nations in the world to oppose the U.S. plan for limited nuclear warfare and prevent the concept of limited nuclear warfare from being put into execution, as well as to achieve a total ban on nuclear weapons, which will remove the possibility of a nuclear war from the earth.

It is especially important under the present tense international situation to maintain the position of settling international disputes by peaceful means in opposition to all manifest attempts to resort to the "position of strength" in settling international disputes. There are wars actually going on now over territorial disputes, as is the case with the Iran-Iraq war and the Falklands war between Britain and Argentina. These wars, although limited to the respective belligerents at the moment, are fraught with the danger of escalating into large-scale wars if big powers intervene. Depending on the situation, no one can rule out the possibility of their leading to a limited nuclear war. A territorial dispute is an international one between two independent countries, which is by nature different from a national liberation struggle no matter how legitimate the claim of each party may be. Accordingly, thorough adherence to the principle of achieving a peaceful settlement through dialogue is the only correct way to contribute to world peace.

3. The World Is Changing

The world's overall balance of power today is radically different from what it was when preparations for the two world wars were underway.

The situation of over 60 years ago, when imperialism-monopoly capitalism could dominate the whole earth, is a thing of the past. At present, countries which account for one-third of the world population have embarked upon the road of socialism after leaving the capitalist world. Moreover, most of the former colonies and dependencies have cut their colonial shackles and won political independence. The majority of these countries have joined the nonaligned summit conference, forming a powerful current in world politics with world peace, national self-determination, a ban on nuclear weapons and the dissolution of military blocs as their goal.

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True, the United States, Japan and the West European monopoly capitalist countries account for more than half of the world's industrial production. But in terms of population, they account for only one-sixth of the world. In the United Nations, socialist and nonaligned countries now occupy about two-thirds of the seats, greatly reducing the ability of the Western countries led by the United States, in terms of voting strength, to ram their imperialist policies through the United Nations.

Inside the monopoly capitalist countries, the working class and the people are intensifying their struggle, shaking the ruling systems in their countries and the policies of the imperialists and reactionaries.

It is of international significance that reformist governments successively came into being in France and Greece last year as a result of judgment made by the voters. Particularly the French Socialist Party occupies a special place among the European Social Democratic forces by having pursued a united front policy with the communist party over the past 10 years since it abandoned the line of anticommunist alliance which it had followed for a long time in the postwar period. Despite the complexity of its past and its contradictions, the French Socialist Party won the presidential election by dint of the united front with the communist party and succeeded in forming a coalition government with the communist party for the first time in 30 years. This provides a common lesson in regard to political reform and the cause of democracy and socialism in advanced capitalist countries, although the French Socialist Party's policies have a number of questionable aspects, such as its argument about nuclear armament based on the "theory of military balance."

Another important change which has taken place since last year is that the strengthening of the Reagan administration's posture for limited nuclear warfare has raised fears and protests among the people of the NATO countries in Europe, who have become aware of the deceptive nature of the "nuclear umbrella theory." As a result, antinuclear movements in these countries against a balance of nuclear terror have spread so wide that they have shaken the very foundation of the military alliance. In the United States, too, the Reagan policy is causing various conflicts and ruptures between the government and the people who are being weighed down by the heavy burden of arms expansion and among the leading circles who have hitherto supported and pushed the U.S. nuclear war policy.

Overall, the world is clearly undergoing a great change in the direction of peace and progress, with objective conditions continuing to exist and on the increase for frustrating the imperialists' nuclear war plan which, if unchecked, would bring about ruinous catastrophe for all nations.

4. International Role of Socialist Countries and Harms of Chauvinism

It is becoming increasingly important for world peace and social progress that the three major revolutionary currents of the world--socialism, the revolutionary movement and the national liberation movement in capitalist countries--

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make a correct onward march in solidarity in opposition to the imperialist reactionary forces led by the U.S. imperialists. What complicates the situation in this connection is the growing chauvinist and hegemonist tide among socialist countries and the world communist movement.

Since the birth of the first socialist state in Russia in 1917, socialist countries as a whole have served as a positive driving force steering the history of mankind toward peace and progress. Recorded in the world history for the past half a century or so are many contributions of socialism to the cause of defending peace and independence of various nations from imperialist aggression, including the role played by the Soviet Union in destroying the fascist and militarist aggressor bloc in World War II, and the victory of the Vietnamese people in their national salvation struggle against the U.S. aggression in which they shattered the U.S. imperialists' divide-and-destroy policy. In the field of economic construction, too, socialist countries have been striving to build poverty-free society. They are indeed still subjected to historical limitations stemming from the fact that they had to start from backward economic conditions, and to consequences of a series of policy deviations in the past. Nevertheless, socialism has demonstrated to the world many advanced accomplishments including the elimination from society the capitalist principle of exploitation of man by man and the firm establishment of substantial social security system. Lenin in particular made researches in the spirit of translating the principles of socialism into Russia's historical facts; his researches were fully scientific, revolutionary and creative. Today they will bear theoretical and practical significance. They were a great contribution to scientific socialism.

The problem lies in the fact that under the present circumstances where socialism encompasses more than a dozen of countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America and has grown into a global system with increasingly greater impact on international politics, the socialist big powers have increased their chauvinism and hegemonism to harm the cause of socialism and its prestige, and to cause an international counterflow or deviations that undermine the struggle and unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

The 15th JCP Congress paid special attention to the question of this international counterflow; developments in the past 2 years have added importance to this question for the anti-imperialist forces the world over.

First of all, we must pay attention to the Soviet intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan and Poland.

The Soviet war of intervention in Afghanistan has literally taken on the look of a colonial war "drawn into the quagmire." As the recent 116-23 UN General Assembly vote shows, it continues to be under strong fire from the world public opinion.

The establishment of military rule in Poland in December last year is an outrageous act absolutely incompatible with the principles of socialism. It was another development against democracy and against the interests of the

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Polish people for which the hegemonist intervention by the Soviet Union was responsible. The Soviet Union, at war with the campaign for democratic reforms since the summer of 1980, had continued to apply pressure on Poland to bring the situation there under its control.

As our party pointed out, although it was required to conduct criticism and struggle to overcome the situation caused by reckless strikes by some members of solidarity and their collaborations with an antisocialist force, this requirement does not justify the establishment of a military government in a socialist country.

Lying at the root of a series of violations of the right of national self-determination in the past, including the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of five nations, is the Soviet-centered concept of "sphere of influence" which is unjustifiable by the language of socialism.

Defenders of chauvinism would talk about an "aid to the national liberation struggle" or "class-oriented policies" in international issues in an attempt to justify chauvinism's hegemonistic activity; however, placing another country under hegemonist control on the excuse of protecting it from a future imperialist aggression is nothing more than a repetition of the imperialists' logic of the partition of the world. It is the elimination of this logic of intervention that the true internationalism based on the interests of the working classes is demanding.

Secondly, we must pay attention to problems in the struggle for the world peace.

In the current nuclear disarmament negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two governments have produced a series of proposals respectively. Both sides in their proposals seek a "freeze" or "reduction" of one weapon or another from the position of "nuclear deterrent" and "military balance." These proposals have one common weak point, and it is that they lack an aspiration for a total ban on nuclear arms which is the top-priority task of nuclear disarmament. This type of negotiation between nuclear powers can produce meaningful results only when the countries involved seriously listen to the worldwide demand for a total ban on nuclear weapons and attach importance to it.

The Soviet theory of "military balance" practically seeks to preserve Soviet-U.S. nuclear equilibrium, establish measures of mutual trust between the military blocs, and to set forth these partial measures as the central task of the world peace while leaving the present situation involving the nuclear arms race and the confrontation of the military blocs to continue. On occasions the Soviet Union mentions such basic tasks as a total ban on nuclear weapons and dissolution of all military blocs, but its "military balance" theory actually seeks to shelve them.

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Furthermore, the Soviet leadership not only bases its foreign policy on this position but also has strongly asked the peace and democratic movements of the world to support it in the name of its "peace program." This constitutes the most serious problem.

In its June 1981 reply to a letter from the Soviet leadership asking our party's view of the "peace program" adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, the JCP pointed out that the slogans calling for a total ban on nuclear weapons and the dissolution of all military blocs had disappeared from the list of basic tasks of Soviet foreign policy since the 25th CPSU Congress in 1976. It proposed in the same reply that these tasks be pursued as a matter of fundamental significance in the struggle for world peace. In its letter of July 1981 in response to the JCP's letter, the Soviet leadership stated that "the various tasks in the struggle for peace" proposed by the JCP are "identical in principle with what we have been saying for some time." If the statement was an honest one, the Soviet leadership has the obligation of voluntarily taking the initiative worthy of a socialist country toward a total ban on nuclear weapons and the dissolution of all military blocs, and of demonstrating to the world its position of pursuing a different path than that of the imperialists who persist in the maintenance of military blocs and "nuclear deterrent."

Third, the Soviet Union turned the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, an international forum of the communist parties of various countries, into a propaganda organ for Soviet foreign policy which violates the journal's principle of the same rights and equality for all participating parties. This is also a grave expression of Soviet hegemonism. On issues reflecting international differences, the journal treats the views of the CPSU and parties following the CPSU's lead as the "orthodox" view thoroughly shutting out from publication the views of all other parties that do not conform to it. In the name of struggle against "anti-Sovietism," it not only shuts out all criticisms of the Soviet Union but also continues to heap abuses on such criticisms charging that they side with imperialist ideologies. At a conference of the representatives of parties in November 1981, the JCP and a series of other parties strongly demanded corrective action. The demand was ignored by the Soviet Union and the journal's editorial bureau. Since that time, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM and its editorial bureau have even intensified their activities as a propaganda organ for the USSR. In recent arguments between the Soviet leadership and its followers concerning the journal, Soviet-centered assertions that the Soviet Union is the "citadel of peace on the earth" and the "center and vanguard" of all the struggles in the world, and that supporting the Soviet foreign policy is the intrinsic duty of the journal, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, have emerged in an increasingly naked fashion.

The journal, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, and its editorial bureau have reduced themselves to an instrument of hegemonism for rallying the communist parties of the world around the Soviet leadership as the leader and under its line. Their harmful role in the world communist movement can be compared to that of COMINFORM which acted as an instrument of international intervention

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for the Soviet leadership headed by Stalin. The proposal for abolishing the journal represents a just, international initiative based on the great cause of scientific socialism.

Fourth, under the banner of international coercion, the chauvinism and interventionism of the CCP in its international activities since the "Great Cultural Revolution" caused extremely great losses to the world communist movement and the international struggles of anti-imperialist forces.

In the area of domestic affairs, the CCP has, to some extent, conducted general reviews of the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" since its Sixth Central Committee Plenum last year, and, on the basis of such reviews, initiated changes in its line. Regarding its mistakes in international activities such as interventionist acts against revolutionary movements in other countries and its policy of alliance with U.S. imperialism however, the CCP has not yet made a clearcut review or change in its line. Under its interventionism in particular, the CCP attempted to force on the JCP the doctrine of violent revolution to the effect that "the gun brings political power with it," and the theory of "four enemies." It also trained factional elements against the JCP with a view toward creating confusion within JCP ranks, and even encouraged anticommunist and rightist forces in Japan through its theories glorifying the Japan-U.S. military alliance. The CCP has thus inflicted extremely great harm on the reformist movements in Japan.

This year marks the 10th anniversary of the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China. The economic and cultural exchanges during this period marked the development of certain positive significance in the national intercourse between the two peoples; however, the basic position of the Japanese reactionary ruling circles such as the LDP government and businesses in promoting Sino-Japanese relations was premised on the attitude of the Chinese authorities' welcoming of the Japan-U.S. military alliance. This attitude has something to do with a new attempt to restore and strengthen militarism, and make use of Sino-Japanese relations in their pursuit of reactionary policies in Asia.

The JCP hereby points out that if the CCP truly wants to liquidate its errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution" on the basis of reason, it should know that a general review of the mistakes of its interventionism into international activity is a question it cannot avoid.

5. International Duty of the JCP

The JCP has been opposed to all trends of imperialism and hegemonism and made every possible effort for progress in the struggles of the Japanese and world peoples, upholding the banners calling for nuclear war prevention, a total ban on nuclear weapons, dissolution of all military blocs, and for the defense of the right of self-determination for all nations.

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In the area of international activity and struggle, the JCP deems it necessary to attach importance to the following point in particular:

First of all, the concept of limited nuclear war being prepared by U.S. imperialism leads to a holocaust of the peoples the world over, including the Japanese. Preventing the danger of such war and defending world peace is the duty of foremost preference in the international area.

Japan has been incorporated into U.S. imperialists' nuclear war plan as a forward base in the Far East. It is of particular importance to the Japanese people to promote unified developments between international struggles for nuclear war prevention and for a total ban on nuclear weapons and struggles in our country against turning Japan into a nuclear base under the Japan-U.S. security treaty and against the LDP government siding with the U.S. nuclear strategy. Under present circumstances in particular, where the government and the LDP and such anticommunist parties as Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party are pursuing a dangerous path toward large-scale armament expansion under Japan-U.S. joint operations and, at the same time, talking about disarmament in a propaganda address to the UN General Assembly's special session in an attempt to deceive people and cover up their true identity, the struggle against the policy and action of the LDP government, which plays a role in the U.S. nuclear strategy, has become a key toward realizing the Japanese people's desire to oppose a nuclear war.

In the struggle to prevent a nuclear war and eliminate its danger, greater efforts must be exerted to overcome the mistaken theory that an "equilibrium of military potentials" centering around an equilibrium of terror by nuclear arms deters a war and the influence of the theory. There is an argument that a transition "from equilibrium to reduction" is the realistic line of nuclear disarmament. However, what was promoted in reality was nothing but the putting of spurs on the limitless buildup of nuclear armament under the pretext of aiming to achieve an "equilibrium" with each other, far from "reductions."

In the struggle to prevent a nuclear war, as our party stressed in its article "For a True Program of Peace" published last June, it is most important to take the lead in the struggle to heighten and spread the demands and campaigns of the people of all countries into international opinion without limiting them within the framework of maintaining an "equilibrium of military potentials," thereby making a total ban on nuclear weapons the most urgent task. Of course, even partial measures for nuclear disarmament are significant if they do not legalize a nuclear arms race, are effective in truly preventing a nuclear war and contribute to a total ban on nuclear arms. The conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of the use of nuclear arms is a task for serious consideration. In regard to a UN resolution calling for accelerating the conclusion of this agreement, the Soviet Union changed its attitude from an "abstention" to a consent last year after our party criticized its "abstention." Although belated, this was a natural course of action for a socialist country to take.

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Our party strongly appeals to the Japanese people, the people of the world and all organizations that desire peace to regard a total ban on nuclear arms as the central task in the international struggle for world peace and to develop international solidarity extensively on that basis. This is the way for the demands and campaigns for peace to truly advance with the strength to cut off the vicious cycle of a nuclear arms race and is the most urgent international duty for safeguarding mankind's existence and prosperity from the danger of a nuclear war.

Next comes the struggle of each nation to defend its right to self-determination in independently choosing and determining its course and destiny and to oppose any infringement upon it. This is a very solemn demand of the cause of scientific socialism and, at the same time, it constitutes an indispensable basis for a stable system of international peace.

Our party has been sternly condemning the Soviet Union for its infringement of the right to national self-determination and intervention into Afghanistan and Poland. However, in the world today, the country which is most antagonistic to the right to self-determination of nations is U.S. imperialism which is bitterly denouncing the Soviet Union for infringing upon sovereign rights in connection with the Afghan and other issues. Under the Japan-U.S. military alliance, even the Japanese people's right to determine whether to participate in a war is virtually held by the United States. Their territory is turned into the United States' base for aggression and intervention to encroach upon the Asian nations' right to self-determination. It is a clear historical fact that the United States has been resorting to every conceivable means of intervention, including terrorism and artifices, to impose upon other nations a political or social system suitable to it not only in the Central and South American countries but also in broad areas of the world which it arbitrarily counts as the "sphere of influence" of imperialism.

In connection with this question, the position of denouncing one side's intervention while defending the other side's intervention lacks any reasonable consistency and, in the end, results in defending either imperialism or hegemonism. In order to help the work for the peace and social progress of the world firmly maintain the position of justice which can win the true understanding and sympathy of the people of all countries, we must carry out the viewpoint that all nations' right to self-determination must be respected and that no infringement upon this by any force--be it imperialism or hegemonism of a big socialist country--can be tolerated. We must make this viewpoint a consistent precondition for international solidarity.

The third is a resolute struggle against all expressions of big country chauvinism and hegemonism in the world's communist movement.

For the past 20 years, the JCP has been most actively carrying out the international polemics against big country chauvinism and hegemonism on the basis of facts and reason, and in a manner conforming to the principles and rules of the communist movement. It has also carried out a consistent, principled

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struggle against an intervention by bringing up antiparty sectarianism or the question of the reduction of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM to a Soviet propaganda tool.

The "Resolution on Some International Questions" adopted at the eighth plenum of the Central Committee in March of this year is of particular significance as a compass for future activities.

In the future, our party will also continue to strive to strengthen friendship and solidarity with not only the communist and workers parties but also with all other progressive organizations that take independent positions. At the same time, our party will continue to uphold the basic attitude of developing relations with those parties with which it holds a difference of opinion on some important questions irrespective of whether they are parties of socialist countries or capitalist countries as long as they do not carry out intervention or attacks on the Japanese party and democratic movement. At the same time, it will continue its active endeavors to overcome the mistaken positions, policies and deeds of big country chauvinism and its followers which harm the world communist movement as a whole.

The present crisis facing world capitalism clearly shows that there can be no stable solution to the present worldwide contradictions within the framework of the capitalist and monopoly capitalist systems. The thesis of the party program--"as a direction in the development of world history, the fall of imperialism and the victory of socialism are inevitable"--is gaining its conclusive evidence on the whole.

Big country chauvinism and hegemonism which impair the work of socialism are not inevitable products of socialism but, in essence, they are legacies of the previous era which are linked to deviations from the principles of scientific socialism. If various deviations found in a country are overcome in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism, there is the possibility and prospect that the work of socialism in any country of the world can advance with the support and sympathy of the working class and people. As long as the working class and people exist in the world, the overcoming of big country chauvinism and hegemonism and the victory of socialism are the definite direction in the development of world history no matter what complicated course they may traverse.

The fourth is to fight in the van of the national work to oppose the road of militarism and imperialism subservient to the United States, which the LDP government and its follower forces are pushing, and to win the road of no nuclear arms, nonalignment and neutrality thereby abandoning the security treaty and aiming at abolishing the San Francisco arrangements. If a new Japan joins in the international current of no nuclear arms and nonalignment, it will be a significant international contribution to the establishment of a new international economic order, a ban on nuclear arms, the dissolution of military blocs and the realization of a collective security system.

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The JCP firmly upholds the banner of scientific socialism and unfolds the gradiose vista for mankind's history which is drawing near a new era in which the original superiority and vitality of the work of socialism can be demonstrated through respective new advances and the victories of the three revolutionary forces of the world. While doing so, the JCP will stand in the van of the people and carry out an energetic struggle for the victory of the work of Japan's progress and reform--the work for administrative reforms--which is the immediate historical duty.

Chapter II. Japan's Domestic Situation and Tasks for National Administrative Reforms

1. Where are monopoly capital and the LDP trying to lead Japan?

Along with capitalism's worldwide crisis, Japan's monopoly capitalism--subservient to the United States--has deepened its structural crisis with the economic conflicts between Japan and the United States or the West European nations becoming sharp. The important thing is the fact that Japanese monopoly capital, which has further strengthened its international economic position and voice, is more highhandedly and offensively pushing ahead in the direction of playing the role of a subordinate ally of U.S. imperialism in the camp of imperialism and world monopoly capitalism in all of the economic, political and military areas--not in the direction of weakening or eliminating its relations of dependence on the United States--as the basic strategy for defending its ruling system and carrying out overseas inroads.

The LDP government and monopoly capital, brandishing the argument that "Japan is a member of the West," are volunteering to play the role of a main pillar of the reactionary ruling system not only in Japan but also in the Far East to oppose all the forces of anti-imperialism, peace and progress. They are carrying out these reactionary policies with emphasis on the following points:

First, the LDP government did not even say a word to protest or express its opposition to Reagan's idea of a limited nuclear war. Instead, it virtually approves his turning Japan into a nuclear base--to that end--and takes the attitude of cooperating with and participating in the limited nuclear war plan by opposing the resolution prohibiting the use of nuclear arms at the United Nations.

Furthermore, it is openly preparing for Japan-U.S. joint operations in which Japan itself plays a part in a nuclear war under the accepted precondition that the self-defense forces will participate in the war in the event of "an emergency in the Far East." At the same time, it is dashing ahead along the road of a quick-paced arms buildup linked to a nuclear war by assuming its share in the "defense" of 1,000 nautical mile seas and purchasing large quantities of new equipment needed for joint operations. To remove obstacles to this dangerous plan, the government and the LDP are scrapping a series of statements and promises, which heretofore have been regarded as restraints to an arms buildup, one after another and, at the same time, expedition preparations

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for an "emergency legislation" to pave the way for forcible measures to be taken in time of war. The revision of the constitution for the worst, which the LDP has decided to promote in parallel with the upgrading of the Japan-U.S. security treaty into an "offensive and defensive alliance" equivalent to that of NATO, is defined as a legal finishing touch on a reactionary reorganization of the domestic political system, which, among other things, will make the emperor the sovereign ruler, and on the plan for Japan's participation as a member of the "Western Alliance" in an aggressive war to be ignited by the United States.

Second, to achieve the goals of protecting the interests of big businesses and carrying out an arms buildup in the midst of a financial crisis, the LDP government is trying to lay the financial and administrative foundations on which to freely carry out its reactionary plans, shattering at one blow democratic systems built up in all areas as a result of protracted national movements and struggles to date. To this end, it treats the "extraordinary administrative research council," which is no more than an advisory body of the office of the prime minister, as a virtually supreme organ above the Diet. Thus it is resorting to fascist means by letting the business circles directly take command and decide basic "national policies" such as a priority arms buildup and drastic cuts in welfare expenditures, at a place beyond the reach of the people.

Third, on the political front, the LDP indeed won more seats than anticipated in the 1980 simultaneous elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, partly for sentimental reasons involving the unexpected death of Prime Minister Ohira. From a long-term point of view, however, the LDP's strength is on the decline and this trend continues unabated. It is trying to bolster its strength with the help of such anticommunist parties as Komeito, the Democratic Socialist Party and the New Liberal Club, which have been drawn into the ruling camp in preparation for the implementation of reactionary reforms. At the same time, through the irreversible JSP slip to the right generated by the "JSP-Komeito accord," the LDP is concentrating its anticommunist, antireformist attack on the JCP in an attempt to divide the reformist front. Under this anticommunist strategy, anticommunist splitism has become a major instrument for pushing policies of war and reaction and policies to destroy the livelihood of the people in every area of political struggle.

The behavior of Japanese monopoly capital and the LDP government proves the correctness of the JCP's foresight indicated in its political program and of the decisions adopted by the JCP congresses in the past. In its reference to the restoration of militarism and imperialism in a Japan subjugated to the United States, the JCP political program states that Japanese monopoly capital "links our country to the U.S. imperialists' nuclear war program. Economically, it is gradually taking on imperialist characteristics and is following a path toward the restoration of militarism and imperialism."

In a general sense, Japanese monopoly capital today lies in the phase of imperialism economically; furthermore, in international politics, too, it has become one of the most positive members of the world imperialist camp

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headed by the United States, as it now wields the second greatest industrial power in the capitalist world and occupies a place as a capital exporting country second only to the United States and Britain. The path along which the LDP government and monopoly capital have led Japan and the Japanese people was not a path toward "independent imperialism" and severance of the ties of subjugation to the United States on the basis of an economic power that has expanded and grown stronger, but a path as envisaged in the JCP political program--a path toward the realization of their militarist and imperialist ambitions through Japan's closer linkage with the U.S. imperialists' nuclear war program. It is an attempt not only to subject the absolute majority of the people to new economic difficulties as a price for further prosperity of monopoly capitalism, but also to push Japan back into the dark age of militarism and fascism, even exposing the people to the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

This road of war and reaction, and of national distress should be blocked; a new road should be paved to promise the Japanese people administrative reforms, and through such reforms, sovereignty and security, democracy and better living conditions. This represents the major essence of the "confrontation between the two roads" in Japan in the 1980's.

2. Trilemma of the Japanese Economy

As a result of investments in plants and equipment in the "high growth" period and the massive stockpile of advanced technologies, plus the substantial budgetary protection and subsidies and severe exploitation of workers and medium- and small-size subcontractor businesses, Japanese monopoly capital has become highly competitive in international markets, enjoying a certain degree of superiority in the trade war despite the worldwide recession. Domestically, following the first oil crisis, it took crisis control measures with emphasis on the interests of big businesses. Under those measures, it thoroughly carried out reductions in the work force in a capitalist fashion in the name of "fat-free management," thereby building business systems to secure sufficient profits even at a time of "low growth" and further expanding its influence over the Japanese industries and economy.

In contrast to the huge profits and prosperity of big businesses, the Japanese economy as a whole is faced with a serious crisis, which is a chain in the crises facing the world capitalist economy, and the ruling circles themselves can hardly find a way out of this crisis. The crisis found its concentrated expression in the "trilemma" of prolonged recession, fiscal bankruptcy and trade friction.

1) The number of bankruptcy cases (with a debt of more than 10 million yen) among medium- and small-size businesses surpasses 1,000 per month and this situation has continued for the 79th consecutive month now. The worker's spending on consumer goods has gone down for 2 years in a row, and the number of the completely unemployed in 1981 reached an all-time high. All available indices point to the fact that the nation suffers from a vicious cycle of a "consumer recession" in which the woes of the business recession are passed on to the people's livelihood, pushing down their living standard, and the working people's low spending on consumer goods in turn further prolongs the business recession.

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2) The government's fiscal bankruptcy, caused by the massive floating of "deficit-covering national bonds" by the LDP government in the 1970's, has gone from bad to worse. The "fiscal reconstruction" pledged by the Suzuki cabinet has proved to be a complete failure. While the official redemption on those bonds is to begin in fiscal 1985, which is expected to promptly put the government in the second phase of the fiscal crisis, it is said that the revenue shortfall for fiscal 1981 is estimated at nearly 3 trillion yen, and that for fiscal 1982 at between 3 trillion yen and 4 trillion yen. The nation is in an unprecedented catastrophic situation indeed.

3) In its 1981 trade balance, Japan ran up a surplus of \$13.4 billion against the United States and \$10.3 billion against EEC countries, aggravating the "trade friction" and generating an increasing demand for a boycott of Japanese goods and the opening of Japanese markets. While the government is trying to cope with the situation through a series of concessions to the United States, there is no prospect for a solution under this kind of "adjustment" measures that leaves the root of the competitiveness of Japan's big businesses--the root cause of all problems--untouched.

These factors of the trilemma are not separate phenomena but were created and intensified in the process of pursuing the line of serving the interests of big businesses, strengthening the Japan-U.S. military alliance and accelerating the military buildup in the midst of the crisis of capitalism and at the cost of workers and the people. The government and business leaders, with no signs of any self-examination on these critical realities they gave rise to, are boasting that now is the time for real "administrative reforms." They are thus about to launch sweeping reactionary reorganizations affecting every aspect of state and local administrative and financial functions, and a multilateral attack on the livelihood of the people. Their programs include the dissolution or splitting of such public corporations as the National Railway and the Telegraph and Telephone Corporation and the turnover of their business to monopoly capital at home and abroad--plans that have no parallel in the world. Their programs also include a drastic cutback on welfare budgets, and the scrapping of protective measures for agriculture and medium- and small-size businesses through a slanderous "overprotection" campaign. In addition, a drastic tax hike plan, aimed at shifting the responsibility and burden for the financial bankruptcy entirely on the people's shoulders, is also placed on the order of the day. It is certain that these will make the structural crisis of the Japanese economy and the people's hardships in livelihood more and more serious.

With respect to the commodity price issue, the rate of consumer price rises is at present shifting at a relatively slow level as compared with those of the United States and a number of the West European countries. However, due to a set of hikes in public utility charges in addition to the wage control and tax increases, workers are suffering a big blow in their household economy. Big businesses continue to raise their monopoly prices and, in the worldwide inflationary trends, there is a big danger that the price rises will increase.

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Furthermore, the LDP government is unconcernedly abandoning even its minimum responsibility for the people's environment or safety. For instance, it is promoting plans to drastically increase nuclear powerplants while having no reliable system established for insuring safety, accelerating environmental destruction by forcibly undertaking large-scale projects, relaxing pollution control regulations, and mutilating and rolling back the enforcement of the anti-pollution measures under the pretext of "simplifying administration."

The reality of the Japanese economy clearly proves that it is impossible to find a fundamental solution to the present crisis in the framework of the U.S.-dependent monopoly capitalist system and the LDP administration.

To overcome the trilemma and the structural crisis and rebuild the Japanese economy, drastic changes in domestic and foreign policy as advocated by our party have become inevitable, urgent tasks. These changes include, in the area of economic policy, efforts aimed at putting national livelihood before anything else and expanding the domestic market; and in the financial field, earnest efforts to plunge a scalpel into the two sanctuaries--military spending and service to big business. They also include democratic administrative reforms aimed at establishing efficient administration to serve the people and a changeover to an independent economic policy based on nonalignment and neutrality, breaking away from the diplomacy of toeing the U.S. line.

3. Trends of the Political Front and Rupture of the JSP-Komeito Accord

As bitterly criticized in the resolution of the 15th party congress, the accord reached between the Socialist Party [JSP] and Komeito in January 1980 was an important preparatory step aimed at splitting and attacking the reformist forces and turning the political front in the 1980's to the advantage of those defending the establishment.

The JSP leadership at that time tried to justify its action on the grounds that it was checking the rightist tendency of Komeito and other parties and striving to realize a coalition government of the opposition parties at an earlier date. Developments on the political front in our country in the past 2 years shattered these arguments with the logic of facts and fully proved that the JSP-Komeito accord was nothing but an antireformist tool to enable the anticommunist parties to become new government parties and supporting the LDP's political rule.

First, the JSP-Komeito accord spurred the rightist tendencies of such anti-communist parties as Komeito, the Democratic Socialist Party [DSP], the New Liberal Club [NLC] and the Social Democratic Federation [SDF] and virtually helped turn them completely into new government parties.

Under the JSP-Komeito accord, Komeito won the JSP's recognition of its position of excluding the JCP and affirming the status quo regarding the security treaty and the self-defense forces and also further quickened the tempo of its approach toward the LDP in its official line. At its 19th party congress held in

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December last year, Komeito put the finishing touches on its rightist tendencies. Among other things it: 1) expressly stated that "Japan is a member of the West"--a theory common to the LDP--and put forward the policy of strengthening the Japan-U.S. military alliance and actively promoting arms buildup; 2) openly vowed, in its plan for accession to power, that it will "basically continue and maintain" the JDP administration including its "foreign and defense policies" as well as the "free economic system"; and 3) explicitly incorporated in its policy the possibility of "a new choice" of participating in a coalition with the LDP government.

The DSP has taken the position of actively supporting and promoting the LDP's reactionary line with respect to the security issue and in almost all other areas of domestic and foreign policy and has more actively played a hawkish role than the LDP in dealing with the introduction of nuclear weapons, the arms buildup issue and the "emergency legislation" question, in attacking school textbooks and in calling for the unconditional implementation of the policies adopted by the ad hoc council on administrative reforms. Lying at the root of this is the party's basic constitution that it is a rightist social democratic party which relies on alliance and whose biggest foundation is the "labor-capitalist unity? support of big business. Its leadership has sought closer ties and adhesion with leaders of the LDP, business circles and self-defense forces and the party has become a most direct spokesman in the political world for the interests of big individual businesses including the munitions industry.

The NLC has bared its nature as an offshoot of the LDP, backing away significantly from its original pretense of being an "anti-LDP faction among conservative political circles and is playing a peculiar role of linking the anti-communist opposition parties and some civic forces with the LDP government such as by uniting with the SDF. In the Diet it is acting as the most faithful supporter of the LDP.

These anticommunist parties aim to participate in a conservative auxiliary coalition government to reinforce the LDP. In the present political reality their differences with the LDP over individual issues (such as reform of the election system) may become acute but, on the whole, they form a camp of new government parties that seek to carry out the Japanese and U.S. ruling circles' reaction plans for the 1980's in cooperation with the LDP.

Second, the JSP's diversion to the right under the JSP-Komeito accord has brought itself into a chronic state of crisis.

When the JSP-Komeito accord was signed, the JSP leadership apologized that it would be an agreement limited to a plan for future accession to power and that as such it would not bind the JSP's actions in other areas. However, its practice for the past 2 years has belied this apology and the anticommunist and antireformist position spelled out under the JSP-Komeito accord has virtually become the basic line regulating the JSP's activities in all areas.

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There is an increasing tendency of the JSP joining antireformist coalitions with the LDP and other anticommunist parties in elections of heads of local governments and of abandoning confrontation with the LDP government. In Tokyo, it went so far as to decide to dissolve "Akarui-Kai" [Bright Society] at its party convention. In the Diet the JSP tentatively puts up "demilitarization" and "the defense of the constitution" as its signboard, but in actuality it is deeply bogged down in a course of unprincipled compromises and deals with the LDP. With regard to the election system issue, it is taking the initiative along with the LDP in promoting a plan to malrevise the national constituency system in violation of the constitution, after last year's malrevision of the public election law. As for the budget question, the JSP refuses to wage a joint struggle with the JCP from the reformists' position, and instead follows to the bitter end the anticommunist stratagem of Komeito and other parties calling for a so-called "joint struggle excluding the JCP." Furthermore, it goes so far as to volunteer to play a role in a secret deal to camouflage the LDP's position of rejecting a tax cut and even drop the demand for a cutback on military spending.

On the labor front, the "unification of the front" promoted in response to the JSP-Komeito accord has begun showing--more clearly as it takes a more concrete shape--that it is no more than a rightist reorganization led by the Japanese Confederation of Labor [Domei] to meet the expectations of business circles and the government. Domei has recently been putting up the banner of promoting arms buildup and defending big business more clearly than ever before. Although the new unified organization may for the time being not inscribe this anti-reformist position in its unified program, it is certain that the organization will confine the movements of the participating labor unions to a framework of not conflicting with the Domei's line of defending the establishment, thereby setting a landmark in the rightist tendency of meeting the expectations of the LDP and business circles.

Under the JSP-Komeito accord, the JSP has made unprincipled compromises with the LDP government and diverted to the anticommunist and antireformist position despite the fact that in terms of the number of Diet seats it is the No 1 opposition party. This has increased the criticism and disappointment among many party members and supporters who had pinned their hopes on the party for carrying out reforms, thereby sharpening the contradictions within the JSP. Reflecting this situation, the party made some changes in the personnel field at its congress this year, but in the field of policy it officially decided to inherit and continue the line of the JSP-Komeito accord and review its program on the basis of the line of diverting to the right.

Komeito and other anticommunist parties, joining hands with the rightist forces within the JSP and the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan [Sohyo], are continuing to pressure the JSP to follow the line of making it a new government party, using the JSP-Komeito accord as a weapon. As a result, the JSP's confusion is becoming increasingly serious under its new executive committee.

The only way to enable the JSP to recover and to extricate itself from the crisis and confusion and thus meet the people's reformist expectations lies in breaking away from the anticommunist and antireformist constraints under

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the JSP-Komeito accord and changing over to the direction of the United Reformist Front. A courageous action taken by a JSP member in a recent gubernatorial election in Kyoto and other new trends aimed at reformist recovery have been observed although they still are localized and partial.

The JCP strongly desires that the JSP draw a correct lesson from its diversion to the right carried out under its accord with Komeito and that it become an active participant of the struggle for national administrative reform.

Third, the LDP has gained strength from the turning of the anticommunist parties into new government parties, the JSP's alignment toward splitting the reformist forces and the achievement of a stable majority in the simultaneous elections of the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors in 1980. On this basis, it has embarked upon an all-out challenge against the people and the reformist forces in an attempt to realize its reactionary goals in one sweep by making the most of this opportune chance. Its dyed-in-the-wool corrupt and plutocratic nature has been corroborated by the Lockheed scandal trial proceedings. The government has continually shown its lack of resourcefulness and has committed blunder after blunder not only at home but also abroad. Thus, while containing within itself many seeds which under normal circumstances would touch off political turmoil, the LDP has maintained an arbitrary political stance in disregard of public opinion. As demonstrated by the recent LDP action of forcibly extending the Diet session, its faction known as the "Corps" faction which is led by the accused in a large-scale international bribery case is actually dominating the ruling party. In fact, this and other anomalies which can never be tolerated in a country dedicated to democracy are continuously increasing. Also on the increase are dangers of neofascism aimed at the utter destruction of the democracy and freedom established after World War II. Examples of these dangers are the "contingency bill," the move to malrevise the constitution and the campaign to create a small-constituency election system. The main factors in permitting and abetting this LDP impudence are the transformation of the anticommunist opposition parties into new government parties and the [word indistinct] joining this bandwagon. This fact should be heeded by whoever earnestly aims to safeguard democracy in government.

4. LDP Rule Is Aggravating Contradictions Between the LDP and All Classes of the People

On the political front the LDP rule has many supporters including the new government parties, but in the people's everyday life it is intensifying contradictions between LDP interests and those of all classes of the people in every field.

In the current protracted recession, working people in particular are suffering from increasing hardship and toil--ever-swelling unemployment, long working hours and evermore toilsome labor, yearly increasing actual tax burdens and diminishing actual disposable income, worsening housing conditions, increasing difficulties in business operation and increasing bankruptcy cases among small and medium-scale firms and industries, increasing difficulties confronting farmers and fishermen and extreme shortage of public facilities for children, senior citizens and handicapped persons.

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Despite the crisis facing the people's livelihood, the LDP government is continuously enforcing various reactionary policies as reflected by the line of the extraordinary administrative research council; this is bound to aggravate the contradictions and conflicts between all classes of the people and the LDP rule irrespective of their political alignment in elections.

On the question of security, the LDP government truly regards Japan-U.S. security relations as a military alliance and has been showing this position in its actual deeds. As a consequence, a great change is now taking place. The LDP has so far managed to win the acquiescence of many people in its "security and defense" policy because the professed purpose of this policy is "the security and self-defense of Japan." The deceptive propaganda about "the nuclear umbrella" and the theory of "defensive capability only" has lost its ground as a result of the Reagan administration's public statement concerning a possible limited nuclear war in the Far East, including Japan, as its theater, as well as the exposure of the real nature of Japan-U.S. joint operation plans which assume the self-defense forces' participation in fighting in a time of emergency. Over these issues, too, the line pursued by the LDP and the anti-communist opposition parties of maintaining the Japan-U.S. security arrangements and pushing arms expansion has naturally come into conflict with the position taken by the majority of the people. In recent public opinions polls, the majority of people have invariably disapproved the government policy of allocating disproportionately large funds for defense spending. The fact that the danger of nuclear war and a possible conscription system are becoming something real is causing a change among the students and youth who are said to be mostly indifferent to politics.

Along with the commercialistic control of culture by big corporations, the products of the LDP's reactionary rule--such as widespread money-power politics through collusion between politicians, government officials and businessmen, the penetration of elitism into the entire educational system by overemphasizing academic careers, and antagonism against all social progress from an anticommunist point of view--are impairing and destroying the conditions for the people's mental life. As a matter of fact, the high incidence of juvenile delinquency, the increase of cultural decadence and the degeneration of social mores--all these are but aspects of the crisis facing modern Japanese society.

In the face of this critical condition, the LDP government attaches central importance to "defense" in education and the inculcation of national spirit under the pretext of "reconstruction of education" and "establishment of national morality." It has begun to openly demand the reinstitution of militarist education, urging people to be ready to die for the Japan-U.S. military alliance. This new attempt at reactionary intervention in the people's education and spiritual life is aggravating the educational crisis and rousing a keen sense of crisis among those who are seriously concerned about Japan's future.

These conflicts of interests between the LDP government and the majority of the people are a natural outcome of the political, economic, cultural and educational crisis. Even with a majority of the LDP and of the opposition

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parties that have turned pro-LDP, it is absolutely impossible to restrain the people's discontent and demands within the present establishments. The fourfold bankruptcy of the nuclear umbrella theory, the extraordinary administrative research council line, the labor front reorganization and the JSP-Komeito accord is having the effect of enlarging the basis for the discontent and demands of the people because it is a bankruptcy which is taking place right in the center of reactionary anticommunist politics. This is the greatest destabilizing factor for the LDP government in a long-term perspective. It is also the greatest objective basis on which the causes of reforming the conduct of state affair can emerge victorious by repulsing all anticommunist and antireformist attacks.

5. In Response to the Heightened National Energy Which Seeks Unity in Action and a United Front

In contrast with the anticommunist rightist tendencies on the political front, there have been over the past 2 years new characteristic upsurges in the energy which seeks unity in action against nuclear war and for the protection of the people's livelihood and rights and for democracy, as well as the formation of a united front.

To counter the reactionary campaign to shift the burden of arms expansion to the public at the expense of their living conditions, democratic mass organizations, including the Council for the Formation of a United Labor Union, inaugurated in the fall of 1980 the "Action Committee for a Great National Movement" to improve welfare and education by reducing military spending. Ever since, a nationwide joint action has been carried out all across the country with as many as 3 million people participating. To counter the challenge posed by the government and business circles since last year in accordance with the line of the extraordinary administrative research council, various democratic organizations lost no time in organizing the "liaison conference of various circles against the line of the extraordinary administrative research council and for the protection of the people's livelihood and democracy," this conference has served as a driving force for a nationwide struggle while broadly exposing the deceptive nature of the administrative reform plan.

The forces supporting the united front have taken the initiative in actively promoting unity in action designed to heed the urgent demands and concerns of the people. In the case of the 21 October struggle of 1980, as the result of these efforts, the divisive struggle plan originally proposed by the leaderships of the JSP and the Central Council of Trade Unions of Japan [Sohyo] was rejected and a joint struggle on the basis of revolutionary tasks was successfully carried out on the basis of revolutionary tasks with a dozen years' old tradition. In 1981, despite the serious political situation that developed against the background of the extraordinary Diet session, the leaderships of the JSP and Sohyo rejected the reasonable proposal by the action committee for the abrogation of the security treaty to carry out a

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joint struggle similar to that in the preceding year, and held a separate rally. But this rally, which ignored the principle governing the unification of reformist forces, became an arena for quarrelsome disturbance by a phony "leftist" hoodlum group and ended miserably in confusion. On the other hand, the 21 October central rally sponsored mainly by the action committee for pushing through the various demands to realize the abrogation of the security treaty was a great success. In the subsequent struggle outside the Diet against the line of the extraordinary administrative research council, the forces supporting the united front have served as a new starting point by always playing a positive role.

The movement for the abolition of nuclear arms, by awakening to a sense of grave crisis of war and peace, showed an epochal spread by rallying even intellectuals of various circles and men of letters. This was one of the most significant expressions of a national trend. The number of local assemblies which adopted special resolutions, addressed to the second UN special session on disarmament and calling for nuclear arms reduction and the abolition of nuclear arms, was 35 in urban and rural prefectures, 391 in cities, 23 in special districts and 459 in villages. A "national signature collection campaign calling for a complete ban on nuclear arms and disarmament" launched by the "national movement promotion liaison council" had collected the signatures of more than 27 million people as of 26 May, and the 21 March Hiroshima (with 200,000 participants) and 23 May Tokyo (with 400,000 participants) action rallies became epochal united campaigns of great historical significance which channeled the aspirations and ranks of the nation's A-bomb victims.

To check the upsurge of national opinion, the LDP and other forces promoting arms buildup issued circulars opposing local assemblies' resolutions on nuclear disarmament and charged that "opposition to nuclear arms is tantamount to being an anti-U.S. act," thus taking the attitude of undisguisedly obstructing this national movement. At the same time, they tried to leave the way to the acceptance of a nuclear arms buildup open by adding the adjective "ultimate" in the wording of a Diet resolution calling for nuclear disarmament. They also participated in the antinuclear movement while openly taking the position of promoting arms buildup at home, thus trying to dilute the significance of the demand for disarmament in international arenas. Their use of the trick to divert the movement for the abolition of nuclear arms into something harmless to the U.S. nuclear war policy should be noted with serious concern. It gives added importance to the effort to develop this national movement in the right direction. As a result of the efforts made by our party and others, the word "ultimate" was deleted from the Diet resolution. This was of some progressive significance.

The energy of the people rallied to oppose nuclear war should be channeled and further developed as a lasting movement; it should not be allowed to be merely a transitory movement occasioned by the UN special session. To this end, it is necessary to expand and strengthen the anti-atomic and hydrogen bomb council [Gensuikyo], the peace committee and other existing mass organizations

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and also to organize, expand and develop "grassroots" movements against nuclear arms and for peace at the respective local areas or places of work in a way suitable to the situations or history of the movements there. This has become an urgent task today.

The "united reformist confab" movement, which our party proposed at the 15th party congress, calling for rallying democratic organizations and people of all circles desiring to achieve the democratic resurrection of Japan, spread to 47 urban and rural prefectures in only 1 year. In May last year, a national reformist confab was inaugurated, and the second enlarged general meeting of caretakers was held in late May to mark the first anniversary of its inauguration. The number of prominent figures of various circles who expressed their support for the confab totals 16,000 and that of the organizations affiliated with it exceeds 1,100, with the total number of its supporters and participants reaching 4.1 million already. Thus it has developed into a vast movement symbolizing that, even with the JSP's diversion to the right, the Japanese people's aspirations for political reform and a united reformist front based on the three reformist goals have indomitable vitality and broad prospects.

No small number of JSP members who earnestly desire the unity of the reformist forces, not to mention a number of nonpartisan individuals, are participating and playing an active role in this movement.

The democratic reformist current has also been helping big movements in all areas make some advances.

What is specially noteworthy is the advance of the united trade unions council movement on the labor front. This movement has been consciously surveying the direction of establishing a class national center under three principles--the independence of trade unions from capital, their independence from political parties, and the unity of action based on unanimous demands and simultaneous class criticism directed at Sohyo and other established national centers for their shift to the right. The movement grew from 850,000 members in 25 prefectures before the last meeting to the present 1.5 million members in 47 prefectures. Maneuvers for a rightist reorganization of the labor front have been carried out and, coupled with the abandonment of the reformist political tasks, the tendency of the labor struggle to become powerless as exemplified by "labor-capital cooperation" in the wage struggle has increased. Under this situation the united trade unions council takes the nationwide initiative for a class advance of the struggle of workers and trade unions and serves as a powerful class embryo shouldering the future of the trade union movement in Japan upon itself.

To help these upsurges and advances in the mass and popular movements grow and develop into a movement with the scale and capability sufficient to spread its unity correctly and carry through demands in the face of the reactionary forces'

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attacks, the advance of the true reformist current on the political front in opposing anticommunist, antireformist tendencies and maneuvers of all sorts and the defense of the reformist cause to the bitter end under any situation has become all the more inseparable task.

The correctness of the resolution of the 15th party congress and the policy and outlook it laid before the party and people has been proven by the characteristics of the development of the domestic and external situations and through the party's practices for the past 2 years. The subsequent development of the situation raises the struggle to smash the reactionary offensive of the Japanese and U.S. ruling circles aimed at decisively orienting Japan's course in the direction of war and reaction to the level of an urgent national task on which Japan's future depends. At the threshold of the 1980's, the party will basically inherit the tasks and policies laid down by the 15th party congress, stand in the vanguard of the national struggle for smashing this reactionary offensive and strive to carve out the road to Japan's democratic rebirth by forming a united reformist front. To this end, the party must carry out a resolute struggle to thoroughly fulfill the duty of the JCP, a party of progress and reform in Japan.

Chapter III. The JCP's Historical Mission and the Tasks Facing Party Activities

1. Activities Since the 15th Party Congress

The historical situation of the 1980's adds importance to the JCP's duty to stand in the vanguard of the people and overcome Japan's present situation in a reformist way.

The resolution of the 15th party congress summed up the struggles of the 1970's on the whole and clarified in three areas the fact that the present JCP shoulders duties and roles in effecting a democratic rebirth of Japan and reforms in national administration, which no other organization can replace. The three areas are: 1) the capability and foresight to correctly direct the course to be taken by the Japanese people under any complicated domestic and external situations; 2) the indomitable consistency to stand face to face with large-scale anticommunist, antireformist counterattacks and defend the cause of social progress and reform and the true interests of the nation and people; and 3) the organizing ability to directly grapple with the struggle to smash the reactionary rule by building popular positions, with branches as the basis, in the midst of a fierce "position battle" between the reformist and antireformist forces. The development of the situation and the trends of all political forces since then vividly show once again in terms of national experiences and facts that one of the fundamental characteristics of the present political front is the fact that the JCP has become a main pillar of the reformist forces.

1. Regarding all important questions raised in national administration, our party put forward basic and concrete reformist solutions in keeping with the people's interests and the reason of democracy, replacing the antipopular

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policies of the government and LDP, which speak for the demands of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Our party's attitude presents a sharp contrast to the antireformist attitudes taken by anticommunist parties and the JSP. The anticommunist parties make toeing the LDP line their basic principle, saying that "a conservative-reformist confrontation is anachronistic," while the JSP has been avoiding a frontal confrontation with the LDP government under the JSP-Komeito accord. With regard to the security and arms buildup issues on which the destiny of Japan depends, the JCP was the only political party that clearly carried through in and outside the Diet the reformist position of not tolerating the strengthening of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, the transformation of Japan into a nuclear base or the unconstitutional arms buildup, and was the only party that demanded cuts in military spending. This is a typical expression of the characteristics of today's political front.

In the "administrative reform" issue as well, the JCP was the only party that expressed opposition in the Diet to the composition of the ad hoc administrative research council, which is led by the business circle. All other parties are responsible for the establishment of the ad hoc council headed by Doko. While other parties consented to the ad hoc council's line or adopted an ambiguous attitude, our party promptly identified the intrinsic reactionary nature of the fake "administrative reform" and indicated the direction of a truly democratic administrative reform meeting the people's expectations. This attested to the progressive viewpoint of the JCP. In dealing with the question of public workers and workers of the National Railways and other public enterprises, the party indicated the active direction of developing the people's confidence and solidarity by putting forward the class responsibilities for doing away with irregular, evil practices on the basis of workers' self-awakening and grappling with the effort to improve work and democratize management.

2. In local politics, too, the JCP is the only party that has firmly maintained the position of supporting local reformist governments in opposition to LDP rule and in the interest of the local people. The JCP has exerted efforts to rally reformist forces while attaching importance to the united front at local and regional levels, which is aimed at defending existing local reformist governments, retaking the reins of local governments from the reactionary forces, and expanding reformist governments. In the past 2 years, the reformist forces have succeeded in retaining 70 local reformist governments, lost 19 others, and installed 22 new ones in the offensive and defensive fight over local reformist governments. Especially in Habikino City (in Osaka), Asago town (in Hyogo Prefecture) and Minamimono village (in Nagano Prefecture), where communist candidates were elected as mayors in the previous elections on a joint reformist ticket, the reformist forces succeeded in retaining their reformist municipal governments in the last elections by defeating the anticommunist and anti-reformist forces, including the JSP at times. In addition, in Nako town (in Hyogo Prefecture), a new communist mayor was installed, thus giving birth to another reformist municipal government. This signifies an important advance in the task of reforming municipal governments.

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3. In line with the policy set forth by the previous congress, the JCP has made active contributions to pushing forward the reformist tides of mass movements in various fields, including the national movement for unity in action and for the formation of a united front.

4. As for the question of increasing and expanding the strength of the JCP itself, the JCP polled more votes in the concurrent upper- and lower-house elections held 4 months after the 15th JCP Congress than in the preceding elections, except in the national constituency for the upper house. The number of votes polled by the JCP thus almost reached the peak level registered in the 1970's in parliamentary elections. Yet, in terms of seats, the JCP lost quite a few incumbent Dietmen--12 in the upper house and 4 in the lower house.

This parliamentary race was characterized by a fierce anticommunist attack mounted by the six-party corps, as well as by a general trend toward the right in the political front. Nevertheless, it highlighted some important problems involving the party's election strategy which must be dealt with immediately. The defeat in the upper house of the national constituency is attributable to the neglect of that constituency in actual campaigning. The party lost out to other parties in a number of upper-house local constituencies. Another reason for the defeat is that the party entered the race with the loss of a number of basic supporters, a loss that was not rectified. The party drew lessons from the summation of this election race at the 4th plenum (in July 1980) and the 5th plenum (in November 1980) to prepare for the nationwide election race in 1983. These lessons were put into practice in the subsequent off-year elections.

Despite a number of defeats, the JCP recorded an overall gain in the off-year local elections in the past 2 years by putting into practice those lessons. The gain totaled 107 seats, the highest increase among all the parties. The Social Democratic Party and the LDP trailed the JCP with respective gains of 39 and 33. The JCP's gain brought the total of its municipal assembly seats to over 3,600, making the JCP the first major opposition party surpassing the JSP. In the first Tokyo metropolitan assembly election since the LDP took over the metropolitan government, the JCP gained five additional seats and became the leading opposition party by defeating the LDP, which had bragged that it would maintain its majority in the metropolitan assembly and reduce the JCP strength to a one-digit figure. This victory marked important progress in the capital city in which political struggle among all political parties is concentrated.

Among all party tasks in various fields, the pace of fulfillment has been slowest in the task of expanding party strength in accordance with the resolution of the 15th congress calling for a boost in party membership and the readership of AKAHATA respectively to 500,000 and 1 million. In the meantime, the JCP has devoted itself to the tasks of qualitatively improving its organizations and activities in conformity with the existing situation

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and the party's stage of development. This task includes a reform of party organ activities as a whole, which is called a "revolution of the party organ. It also includes the routinizing of party chapters' activities and the encouragement of learning and education. It is an urgent task of the hour for the party to fulfill as soon as possible the goals set by the previous congress and radically remove the lag in the membership-readership drive through partywide efforts and on the basis of the progress made so far..

Those are our major accomplishments in our activities designed to achieve a united reformist front in the 1980's.

All trends in the past 2 years, including those on the political front and in the mass movement, indicate that the JCP has become the central political force in Japan's revolutionary current. This gives added responsibilities to the JCP, which stands in the van of the people's confrontation with the LDP rule, in organizing a united front for political reforms, in protecting the people's livelihood, freedom and democracy, and in realizing Japan's sovereignty and security.

[Word indistinct] responsibility of the mass-based vanguard party and thorough promotion of learning and education.

The JCP is open to all workers and people who wish to contribute to the cause of progress and transformation in Japan. It is also a mass-based vanguard party which is armed with the theories of scientific socialism and which holds transformation, fortitude and discipline as its intrinsic revolutionary spirit. In order for this party to play its role as a historic pioneer leading the people without succumbing to any pressure and attack from the rulers in the course of Japanese history, it is important to permeate the party with this intrinsic revolutionary party spirit and revolutionary fortitude and devotion which defies any hardships so that these traits can manifest themselves in all party organizations and in all party activities.

The task of building this mass-based vanguard party has made leaping strides since the 7th party congress in 1958. As a result, our party has now the largest organizational strength among all parties in Japan and is playing important role at home and abroad. Its unity is rock-firm with no faction whatsoever existing to disrupt party unity. However, as indicated by the lesson of the experience over the past 2 years, it is urgently required that quantitatively the JCP, as a mass-based vanguard party, increase its membership as well as the number of AKAHATA readers and supporters so that the ties with the masses can be expanded still more. Qualitatively, it is urgent to improve and develop the quality of the party, particularly the political and theoretical quality of all party ranks, and to rally them in disciplined party life and activities and create a climate conducive to the correct understanding and execution of party decisions.

In fact, most of the problems confronting the party today are not too difficult or extraordinary; they can be solved if only all party members share responsibilities. The first and foremost reason for failing to solve some of these

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problems more often than not is that a condition has not yet been created wherein all party members share responsibilities. Since our party is an organization comprised of those who joined it voluntarily with a wish to contribute, as party members, to the cause of the party and the revolution, the key to galvanizing all party members into activities designed to implement party decision lies in intensifying study and education among them so that they can voluntarily rally in those activities.

For this reason, the entire party must observe the view formulated in the resolution of the 8th party plenum which regards learning and educational activities as a "principal condition" for enabling the party to behave like a vanguard party, as well as a "principal prerequisite" for all party activities. At the same time, all party members must carry out constant learning activities with emphasis placed on the following five areas in accordance with various resolutions of the past party congresses and plenums:

1) Study of the line of the party program, 2) a correct understanding of the situation and future prospects, 3) study of party policies and lines in various fields, 4) study of party building, and 5) study of scientific socialism.

At present basic study and education lag behind substantially. About 20 percent of the new members who joined the party since the 15th party congress are yet to receive education, and those who have completed all the basic courses account for only 11 percent. If those members who joined the party before that are included, the number of those who have not yet completed the "basic course," a mandatory course for all party members, exceeds 200,000. To overcome at once this lag in education is a matter that bears upon every aspect of party activity.

The education of new party members should by all means be completed within the prescribed deadline so as to help those comrades who newly joined the party's ranks grasp the basics of party organization and line at an early date and actively fulfill their duties. This is the most important task of branches and leading organs in enabling new members to fulfill their basic purpose and resolve. Those who have yet to complete the basic course should strive to complete it--partly by acquiring certificates through self-study--regarding it as a priority task. While doing so importance should be attached to conducting intermediate courses, which have been extremely weak.

For all party members, study and education constitute the basic prerequisite condition for participation in party activities; and cadres of all levels from the central down to the branch level as well as assembly members of all levels should earnestly grapple with study and education. This is important for raising the level of guidance and of the activities. Of particular importance is education by object, such as area committee members and branch leaders.

Our party attaches particular importance to study of party congress and Central Committee resolutions and of programs adopted at national meetings. This is important because our party's line based on our party's programs is

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the product of scientific socialist theory, creatively developed by applying it to the various conditions at present in Japan and in the world and in the Japanese people's struggle for liberation. The party's national resolutions reflect this line in a vivid and a most intensive form. However, those who had read the resolution of the 15th party congress by the time of the eighth Central Committee plenum accounted for no more than 53 percent of the whole party, and those who had read the resolutions of the Central Committee plenums accounted for about 40 percent at most. Here also is a decisive lag which should not be left unchecked. The whole party should thoroughly and firmly see to it that all party members strictly observe the rule that they should read party congress resolutions, Central Committee resolutions and programs of national meetings within 2 weeks and that these resolutions are carried through in reality.

3. Standing in the Van of the People's Demands and Mass Movements

Today when the LDP's maladministration and the Japanese and U.S. ruling circles' attacks are arousing numerous urgent demands and complaints among the people of all strata, the party should take up the masses' demands in its struggle on a regular and routine basis, carry out livelihood counseling activities and stand in the van of the struggle to correctly develop mass movements. For the JCP, which for 60 years since its founding has regarded the protection of the people's basic interests as its most important raison d'etre, this constitutes one of its most important duties.

1. The resolution of the eighth Central Committee plenum regarding mass movements is an important decision indicating the tasks and lines for grappling with mass movements and struggles. All party organizations and members should systematically strengthen their activities among the masses by using this resolution as a guideline.

With a view to developing the mass struggle into a united front, the JCP maintains the following "four aims": 1) the fulfillment of demands; 2) the growth of the masses' awakening and strengthening of their organization; 3) the expansion of the party's force, and 4) the respect for social and class morals. They continue to be our party's principled aims in dealing with mass struggles. In the present situation where the struggle between reform and counterreform is assuming the aspect of a "positional battle" including in the area of mass struggle, expanding and strengthening democratic mass organizations while pushing ahead with party building is a task that should be carried out in earnest at all times.

2. As a matter which affects the basis of mass movements, our party has been stressing "grassroots" movements. They are important for overcoming the tendency of mass movements becoming perfunctory activities, by doing nothing but carry out scheduled campaigns decided on by existing mass organizations. At the same time, they are the basic course for mass movements to truly rally the demands and aspirations of all workers and other people and advance on a popular basis with a vitality and development potential sufficient to attract

new members. From this viewpoint all party branches and groups should strengthen their routine work regarding "grassroots" movements in local areas, among business circles and in schools and exert constant efforts to fill party activities with popular vitality in those areas as well. The vast national energy opposing nuclear weapons should not end in a mere signature collection campaign but should be organized into numerous anti-nuclear peace circles in the various localities, work sites and schools by using practicable and appropriate means. This is a new task in this field. Taking a serious view of the present situation where the organizing capability of democratic mass organizations is still not yet developed in many aspects of the mass movement, the party should actively contribute to strengthening and expanding them.

The LDP government's imposition of sacrifices upon the people through its policy of cooperation toward a nuclear war and arms buildup is stirring up serious anxieties and demands even among those who have not yet participated in democratic mass movements in both urban and rural areas. The party needs to reflect these demands in the "grassroots" movements, struggle for their realization and actively strengthen political propaganda while attaching importance to the expansion of the popular basis of the work of the party and reform. It is also important to broaden one's outlook and make active contracts with various organizations that serve as the conservatives' foundation, thus accepting just demands from those organizations and their members and expanding activities to broader areas of social life.

(3) When a mass movement demonstrates a new upsurge with a great energy, various anticommunist and antireformist maneuvers aimed at dividing it or diverting it toward an erroneous direction are bound to turn up. This is what the history of the postwar mass movements in Japan teaches with a countless number of facts. It is an important task for the party and the awakened democratic forces to struggle against these maneuvers and for the correct development of the movements while defending the original position of mass movements--realizing the masses' just demands and achieving unity on that basis.

The latest anticommunist, rightist current on the labor front is intensifying maneuvers to obstruct the linking of the masses' economic demands and movements with the reformist tasks and, contrarily, to link them with the antireformist political line of affirming the security and arms buildup policy. Using the "joint struggle of four labor organizations" as a pretext, it is trying to incorporate in its right-leaning line even those organizations and movements which heretofore have been advocating reformist tasks and to spread this to even outside the labor front. This is one of the maneuvers to be watched most carefully in mass movements. It is of particular importance for the party and the awakened democratic forces to oppose this reactionary maneuver to link economic tasks with antireformist "politics" and struggle to correctly combine mass movements based on urgent economic demands with reformist political tasks.

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(4) A powerful development of a mass movement is inseparable from mass propaganda. Propaganda and educational activities of a mass organization are, of course, important. However, the party's independent mass political propaganda is indispensable for clarifying the correctness of the demands put forth by the masses, the situation surrounding a movement and the course to be taken by the movement. It is also indispensable in helping people carry out their movement with greater confidence, in making people who have yet to awaken rise up and in overcoming various rightist maneuvers within the mass movements on a popular basis. The JCP must attach importance to the propagation of AKAHATA and other journals and pamphlets along with oral propaganda and fulfill its leading role as the party of scientific socialism in the area of propaganda activities as well.

Class-based labor unions need to attach importance not only to general mass propaganda but also to the class education of workers. It is one of the important programmatic tasks for the party to enhance the working class with the ideology of scientific socialism and true internationalism, to give it a firm belief in the ultimate victory of the revolutionary work in our country and to strengthen its class militancy and political leadership. It is quite natural for the party to tackle this actively.

4. For Leaps in the 1983 Local and National Elections

Next year, in 1983, local elections across the country and a House of Councillors election will be held in succession. In addition, depending on the development of the political situation, the House of Representatives might be dissolved and put to a general election. Thus, it will be a year in which nationwide election campaigns will be held most intensively during the first part of the 1980's.

On the political front, the divergence of parties and factions has become clear. A confrontation between the anticommunist and antireformist parties and the reformist current represented by the JCP serves as the main axis, while the JSP remains agitated with its fall to the right. The roles played by the respective currents in the light of the true interests of the people have also become clearer than ever in both national and local governments. The JCP's rise and fall in its Diet force influences the conditions of the struggle to defend the people's interests against reactionary policies. This fact has been corroborated by the development of fierce political struggles since the 1970's.

The party must score victories and advances by attaching importance to interim elections to be held during the period, make all-out efforts to prepare for the 1983 election campaigns and attain consecutive victories for the party and the united reformist forces in the local and House of Councillors elections. This is the greatest political task facing our party. The whole party must epochally strengthen preparatory activities necessary for winning in these elections. The party, its supporter associations and the united reformist forces must also exert all-out efforts, thereby making 1983 a year of victory and advance for the JCP.

Guidelines to be followed in the election campaign were clearly stated in past decisions. In particular, the decision entitled "The General Summation and Lessons" of the simultaneous elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, adopted at the fourth Central Committee plenum; "For new development of the election struggle based on the decision of the fourth Central Committee plenum," adopted at the fifth Central Committee plenum; "Tasks for the construction of the basic vote--the organized vote--in the election campaign," adopted at the seventh Central Committee plenum; and the "Resolution for strengthening preparations for the 1983 elections," adopted at the eighth Central Committee plenum, set forth immediate goals for the whole party to reach, and detailed formulas for the party to follow. These goals and formulas expanded and further developed the resolution of the 15th party congress on the basis of party activities after that congress and lessons learned. All party organizations should reject narrowminded empiricism and self-taught methods and strictly follow the above-mentioned guidelines. Doing so is one of the important guarantees for victory.

1. It is absolutely unacceptable to fail three times in a national constituency election. The whole party should thoroughly correct such mistaken concepts as local sectarianism and the natural growth theory and without fail, win the election of all candidates in the national constituency, as well as victories in major local constituencies.

Currently, struggles are under way, inside and outside the Diet, against LDP and JSP plans to revise the national constituency system. The plans are unconstitutional and politically motivated. While the outcome of these struggles is still unpredictable, a phase-by-phase approach, advocating a wait-and-see attitude, instead of immediately embarking on preparations for the national constituency, should be sternly rejected.

While the JCP ranks first among opposition parties in the total number of members of local assemblies, it considerably lags behind the JSP and Komeito at the prefectural, decree-designated city, general city and ward assembly levels. The prefectural and decree-designated city assembly elections are held in very fractionalized constituencies, with parties and factions launching heated campaigns. To make advances in these elections, the party is required to display militancy and have the capability to fight it out and win in an all-out war. In simultaneous local elections, the party will begin positive preparations to select its candidates for the three prefectural assemblies still having no communist members--Akita, Fukui and Tokushima--and for some 700 city, township and village assemblies which also have no communist members. At the same time, regarding it as an important goal to increase the present number of JCP members in prefectural and city (or ward) assemblies, the whole party will immediately embark on full-scale preparations to preserve, at any cost, the seats it occupies now and win additional seats.

As a result of a change in the nation's political situation or in the ruling party's strategy, the LDP may dissolve the House of Representatives and declare a general election. Inherent in a general election is its unforeseeable nature. This makes it all the more important that necessary

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preparations are made now--in constituencies where the JCP must win at any cost in particular--in effective coordination with activities for other already scheduled elections. At the same time, it is necessary to effectively establish readiness in each constituency for the House of Representatives elections, analyze every possible situation and make plans to cope with it, and to develop campaign plans for possible candidates. These preparations should go on simultaneously.

2. In preparations for the election campaign, it is important to focus on specifics of maladministration by the LDP and other parties siding with them on the levels of state and local administration, and to clearly express the JCP's role and accomplishments in defending the interests of the people, as well as its fundamental and realistic policies to meet the demands of the people. It is important to begin early, and constantly carry on positive propaganda on JCP policies to effectively counterattack any anticommunist propaganda, in conjunction with propaganda about candidates.

The 1981 amendment to the public officers election act forbids oral propaganda during the election period, in addition to the previous unjustifiable restrictions on written propaganda. In order to repel this unwarranted attack, it is most important to launch effective preelection propaganda activities and, through them, make voters fully understand what will be the issues in those elections, and what kind of policies the JCP will pursue over those issues. Furthermore, during the election period, the whole party should attach importance to the authorized means of propaganda and put them to the most effective use. At the same time, each and every party member or backer should master JCP policies and not as a propagandist and organizer for the broad masses of voters, in an effort to demonstrate the superiority of JCP policies to the people.

In any election, a common basic factor determining victory is the construction of the basic vote cast mainly by party members, AKAHATA readers and members of supporting groups. The current whole-party campaign to achieve "500,000 party members and 4 million AKAHATA readers" goals before the 16th party congress represents the central content of the JCP's effort to build up this basic vote; even after the party congress, it is important to carry on the effort to increase party membership and AKAHATA readers with a view to bringing the basic vote up to a level required for victory.

Concerning activities involving groups of supporters, it is an important, immediate task to develop all such existing groups into JCP supporters' associations. For those party organizations which have no such groups, it is urgently required that they begin organizing their groups with AKAHATA readers and party sympathizers. All the supporters' groups should immediately embark on and earnestly step up activities to prepare for election victories in 1983. This is the important direction for the JCP to follow for the immediate future. Although 1 1/2 years have elapsed since the fifth Central

Committee plenum, groups in 54 cities and 413 townships or villages have not been upgraded to the level of JCP supporters' associations. Furthermore, there are 346 private groups backing incumbents or potential candidates. Even in constituencies where staff members of party organizations are running as candidates, as many as 94 groups still remain on a private level. All this could be attributed to an erroneous ideology endearing private interests, or to negligence on the part of the responsible persons who left the situation unattended. In either case, it is clear that the situation shows the lack of a sense of responsibility on their part for the implementation of party decisions, and the absence of a positive will for election victories. As for incumbents and potential candidates who continue to keep their private groups as they are, the party will review their qualifications as candidates in the next elections.

3. Along with election preparations, it is important to strengthen the guidance and assistance for groups of incumbents so that they spearhead the masses demand and launch positive and effective activities inside and outside the Diet and local assemblies. The accomplishments of a party tested in an election are the accumulation of such activities. Only through such practical activities and through activities that are carried out earnestly and in conformity with the interests of the masses, the cause of reform and party policies, can we enhance our accomplishments to win greater sympathy and trust for the party.

In the off-year elections, some incumbents failed to be reelected because party organizations disregarded the importance of guidance in their activities until the last moment, committing the mistake of belatedly addressing problems after election campaigns began. This type of negligence and lack of concern exposes a serious weakness on the part of leading organizations, who represent the JCP in the respective areas, which could lead to the abandonment of their original political obligations. For a serious, full-scale campaign, it is important for leading organizations at all levels to wipe out every expression of this type of "lack of political concern" and discharge their responsibilities as leading organizations in all problems involving local autonomous administrations and community level political struggles.

4. Scheduled for next year are simultaneous local elections including gubernatorial elections in Tokyo and Osaka where the goal is to restore reformist administrations. The gubernatorial elections for Okinawa and Kagawa prefectures are also scheduled to be held later this year. It is one of the major duties to restore, defend or expand reformist local administrations in these elections and all other gubernatorial elections throughout the country. Our basic position in the gubernatorial elections is to continue the united reformist front on a local basis and on the basis of established policy and organizational agreements with groups and individuals dedicated to the unity of reformist forces rallied behind that front. For a united reformist candidate, the JCP deems it necessary to select him or her from among honest, reformist figures with no party affiliations. The JCP does not support a person with

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JSP membership as a united reformist candidate. Even under the circumstances where the JSP elected to follow an anticommunist line reflecting its slip to the right on the level of the national administration, the JCP would not keep its doors closed to honest JSP members in areas where joint election struggles with them are possible. These will continue to be our basic positions in the gubernatorial elections as they have been in the past.

While Tokyo, Osaka and Okinawa are under different circumstances from each other, we seek to rebuild the reformist strongholds to defend the interests of residents from the LDP's maladministration. To that end, the JCP appeals to all groups and individuals who are opposed to the LDP government and eagerly look forward to the restoration of reformist local administrations; we appeal to them to follow with us, the path toward reformist unity based on the reformist cause. To that end, the JCP will make every possible effort.

5. Systematic and Studied Expansion of Party Ranks

While the whole party is striving to attain the goal of "500,000 party members," at present the figure, if attained, accounts for only 0.43 percent of the nation's total population. When seen in light of what is required by the revolutionary cause in Japan, it would mean nothing more than a rudimentary accomplishment.

In the expansion of party membership, it is necessary to attach particular importance to pursuing the expansion of party ranks purposefully, on a constant basis, and carrying out the work of party building, in a planned way, in light of the party's duties. In this regard, party organizations at all levels should decisively display leadership in both the planning of party building and the actual carrying out of the plans. Particularly those tardy party organizations, whose membership accounts for less than 0.25 percent of the population in prefectures or areas, are urged to carry out special activities for breaking through the percentage at an early date.

The leading organs of the party should always carry through the viewpoint that the party should be strengthened in both quantity and quality. Cadres of these organs should keep in frequent contact with party branches and members and see that they carry into practice the decision on strengthening the party qualitatively, while simultaneously expanding party membership.

In the composition of Japanese society, the working class accounts for two-thirds of the population. This class should strengthen its militancy and leadership on the basis of its revolutionary self-awakening. This is the greatest guarantee for the victory of the cause of revolution in Japan. For this reason, the reactionary ruling forces, in close cooperation with anticommunist, rightist cadres of trade unions, are mobilizing every conceivable means to undermine party organizations and their influence in business circles. Undaunted by the attacks and repression of monopoly capital, the party will plant itself on the results achieved in party building in business circles so far, broadly accept progressive workers into the party and strive to advance party building in business circles, including the overcoming of the party's vacuum in major business firms, with a greater revolutionary ambition.

The party will grapple with the organization of labor unions, even among those workers who are yet to be unionized, by adopting a new experience of linking union activities with workers' routine interests, thus attaching importance to party building there.

Building a party possessed with great capabilities among peasants and fishermen, the most important ally of the working class, and urban working citizens is also a task which can absolutely not be neglected, as it constitutes a guarantee for the revolution of the majority.

Of the party members who have joined the party since the last congress, women account for 42 percent and women's numbers have increased. This shows in the number of Dietwomen, where our party far excels other parties. It is a wholesome tendency, reflecting the nature of our party which aims at the true liberation of women and equality of the sexes. However, in reality, many of the woman party members are carrying out their activities while bearing a heavy burden in society or at home because they are women. The party needs to actively work to accept a greater number of women into party membership and direct particular, comradely considerations to improving the conditions for woman party members' activities.

To expand the party's ranks among youth and students is of decisive importance to the future of our party. The resolution of the eighth Central Committee plenum regarding the Democratic Youth Union [DYU] stressed, as the future direction of the DYU's activities, that it should drastically increase the weight of education and study activities and establish the system and operation of its organization suited to the DYU. The 17th DYU Convention held in May gave a concrete form to this direction and served as an epochal starting-point for new development. Party organizations at all levels should attach importance to independent party activities among the young generation and strive for party building among youth at places of work, in local areas and in the countryside as well as among college students. At the same time, they should earnestly come to grips with the tasks indicated by the eighth Central Committee plenum and fulfill their "leading responsibility" literally as a guiding party towards building a mighty and powerful DYU linked with the broad section of youth.

As pointed out at the national conference of activists last October, carrying out the task to overcome a vacuum has weakened in recent years in business circles, schools and local areas. This is primarily a question of leadership on the part of party organs. In this connection, the party stresses once again the importance of buckling down to the task of party building under studied, strategic plans.

6. Centering Party Activities Around the Party Organ as a Fully Established Practice

The 2 years following the 15th party congress have a great significance in our party's activities centered around the party organ.

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First, under the consistent party policy of centering party activities around the party organ, the number of readers of the party organ increased from over 100,000 in the early 1960's to the 3 million level in the 1970's. During this period attention was paid to establishing the practice of centering party activities around the party organ and efforts were made accordingly with emphasis placed on improving the system of distributing the party organ and collecting subscription fees. Although the arrangements made in this field were far from perfect, record after record was set thanks to the more than adequate partywide efforts to overcome the difficulties encountered. But as readership reached the 3 million level, it became apparent that without sweeping changes, including drastic improvement of activities designed to center party activities around the party organ on a permanent basis, it would be difficult to maintain that level, still more difficult to exceed it.

With the standing presidium's August 1980 call for ending confusion in delivery and subscription fee collection as a starting point, the party began to tackle this issue in earnest and while so doing came to realize the gravity of defects in the delivery and collection system. As a result, the party set a plan to drastically reform party organ-related activities under the slogan of "revolution in the party organ," and made partywide efforts to implement it. The national conference of metropolitan, prefectural and area chapter chairmen in March 1981 formulated a five-point principle concerning party organ-related activities, namely: 1) improvement of the quality of the organ, 2) increase in the number of pages, 3) proper delivery, 4) efficient collection of subscription fees, and 5) increased profitability. The conference urged that this principle be observed under all circumstances. As main objectives, the party organ reform plan calls for a drastic change in editing and organizing the paper with an eye to profitability; the early recovery of the losses incurred by the paper over the years; and ownership of the organ by the party and its operation by area chapters. The plan also calls for an organizational reform whereby basic party organizations, mainly branches and county chapters, will take main responsibility for party organ-related activities. In November last year, a "Guide for Party Organ-Related Activities" was published. In this guide, all these points are incorporated.

Second, in regard to efforts to increase the number of readers of the party organ, a large drop has been experienced in the number since the previous congress, especially due to a weakening of party organ-related activities during the last concurrent elections for the two houses. Since September 1980, the party has waged a campaign to expand party strength designed to implement the party congress resolution calling for recovering the drop in the number of readers and increasing it to 4 million. In waging this campaign, the party also endeavored to strengthen party branches' party organ departments and step up calls for the formation of readership expansion teams, subscription fee collectors groups, and teams to prevent missed deliveries as an organizational means to help boost readership.

Despite quite a few positive results, there have been ups and downs in this campaign when seen from a partywide point of view. Taking a serious view of the lag in this area, the party in preparation for the coming 16th party congress adopted a decision to launch a "great campaign to effect the JCP's advance in commemoration of its 60th founding anniversary and the 16th party congress." At the national conference of metropolitan, prefectural and area chapter chairmen held this April, the party called upon all party organizations and members to set out to implement this decision by overcoming any defeatist, passive tendencies. This campaign is based on the resolution of the 15th party congress which clarified the need for "partywide concentrated efforts for a set duration" alongside with routine, planned efforts for the expansion of readership.

The party Central Committee sent letters to all party members stressing this need. In response to this call of the party Central Committee, all party members are now striving to exceed the level set by the past party congress as soon as possible and to go on to attain a 4-million readership so that they can honor the glorious 60th founding anniversary of the party and the opening of the 16th party congress amid an advance in party organ-related activities. Whether our party organ-related activities in these 2 years will be really fruitful or not will depend on our present partywide efforts. Literally all party members and organizations must rise up to combat every kind of passivism, negativism and defeatism with fortitude and reason so that they can fulfill their goals without fail.

As a propaganda weapon linking the party to the masses, the periodicals and various pamphlets our party is publishing and disseminating, as well as AKAHATA, are of great significance. Particularly the resolution of the eighth party plenum regards pamphlet subscribers as potential voters next in order to basic voters and stresses the importance of planned distribution of pamphlets. It is important for all party organizations to continue to utilize the party periodicals and pamphlets according to their respective characteristics, and to disseminate them.

7. Party Life Worthy of the Masses' Vanguard Party To Be Firmly Established and Party Guidance To Be Thoroughly Conducted

The fundamental task, which covers every part of party construction and party activity, is to firmly establish party guidance and party life worthy of the masses' vanguard party, with special emphasis on the strengthening of "party activity centering on party branches and with all party members participating in it."

1) Party branches represent the JCP in their respective localities, places of work and schools. They are the JCP's basic organization linking the party directly with the broad masses of the people through their daily activities. For the branches to discharge their original duties, it is important that they--as the party's basic organizations responsible for their respective

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localities and places of work--establish prospects and goals of drawing the masses into the reformist cause and thus effect a change in the balance of power. It is important, under such prospects and goals, that they work out necessary plans to increase party membership and other unique policies and programs and that they make conscious and systematic efforts to carry them out.

It is an important duty of party branches and all party members to put into practice the party's national policies and guidelines in a concrete manner and in conjunction with specific conditions in their respective localities and places of work and with the demands of the masses. It is wrong to assume that decisions of the party Central Committee at various meetings and guidelines published in AKAHATA daily become tasks of party branches only after being acted on by intermediate organizations; most of the decisions and guidelines are directly addressed to party branches. It is necessary for all party branches to promptly implement them and translate them into reality in a voluntary and positive manner.

Individual party members belonging to party branches differ in their personal circumstances and capabilities. Nevertheless, the true merits of the masses' vanguard party lie in the fact that under whatever circumstances members may find themselves in they put everything they have to the practice of party decisions and guidelines. At present, in some party branches many party members fail to participate in party activities, leaving branch operations in the hands of a handful of members; in other branches, all members take part in study programs, cooperate in the membership drive and actively conduct mass activities. Although at present one branch performs differently from another, it is important for all branches to always return to the original spirit of the masses' vanguard party with all party members actively participating in party activities according to their abilities and personal conditions. It is important to constantly seek the building of party branches along this line. All party branches should strictly abide by the four norms of party life (branch meetings are held regularly; all members read AKAHATA; all members participate in party activities; all party members promptly pay the party fee and fees for AKAHATA and other journals). They should strive to make the four norms a standard for all members to consciously abide by.

As for the leading party organizations, they are also required to place the organization and activity of every party branch on the track of lively and conscious development worthy of being a basic organization of the party. They are required to put guiding emphasis on this point and to pursue it unceasingly. Especially when a party branch encounters difficulties such as that caused by organizational disarray, one of the duties of the party's leading organizations is to help rebuild the branch. Leaving difficult situations unabated for a prolonged period of time represents negativism that should never be tolerated. Last year, the party Central Committee called attention to the importance of specific guidance in the rebuilding of party

branches experiencing confusion in their party life and party activities. The party Central Committee itself assigned a considerably large number of comrades to Tokyo to reorganize activities of scores of branches there involving the party organ and to place them on the right track.

On guidance by the leading party organizations, the three points--the thorough dissemination of guidelines, the thorough conduct of education, and democratic management and discipline in the conduct of conferences--that were stressed at the national activists' meeting in October last year as a key to the party's leaping advances, will continue to serve as an important key.

On elections for and the composition of party organizations including the guidance departments of party branches, greater importance will be attached to the implementation of the decisions of the 14th and 15th party congresses concerning the JCP cadre policy.

2) Along with its effort to make the ideology of the masses' vanguard party an ideology of the whole party, the JCP has consistently been stressing the importance of correctly defending democratic centralism, and of struggling against liberalism, decentralism and bureaucratism. It was from this position that it has for the past 20 years waged struggles to crush all expressions of factionalism against the party and to overcome various types of opportunism and opportunist trends seeking to weaken democratic centralism. Today, under circumstances where the trend of big-power chauvinism often involves the fostering of antiparty factionalism as a means of international intervention, the significance of our party's 20-year-old struggle as an advanced struggle has become even clearer.

Today, the JCP's historic mission has become more important than ever. It is necessary for the whole party to thoroughly disseminate the ideology of the masses' vanguard party and the spirit and discipline of democratic centralism among all party members, and for all party members and organizations to demonstrate their vitality with a high revolutionary spirit and grand revolutionary ambitions. Today, one of the major factors eroding party discipline is related to activities in the monopoly capitalist society subjugated to the United States, and to various kinds of temptations of conservatism, passivism and petty bourgeois life. The absence of education often leads to party members yielding to these temptations; special importance must be attached to the need to overcome this unhealthy trend both in study and education and in ideological struggle.

Various phenomena of social and moral degradation resulting from infiltrating capitalist thoughts have harmful effects on the purity of the party even if they are observed among some, not all, members. Therefore, they should be wiped out thoroughly.

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3) At a time when the struggle between the reformist and counterreformist forces is increasing its intensity, it is more important than ever to defend the party against espionage and covert activities and violent attacks by reactionary forces.

Spying activities, particularly those by the public security and police authorities, are increasing in viciousness, persistency and covertness. The number of espionage and provocation cases in the 2 years following the 15th party congress was approximately 300, which was an all-time high. The figure includes only those cases which were reported by local party organizations to the party Central Committee. The party should regard it as an important task to resolutely protest and struggle against such espionage and covert activities that violate the democratic principles of the constitution, and at the same time to tighten discipline in party life not to allow infiltrations by spies.

Meanwhile, rightwing groups dedicated to violence are intensifying their attacks against the JCP with the LDP's official blessing and with the financial backing of big business. These attacks are being made while the regimentation and organizing of these groups is progressing on a national scale.

Since the fourth Central Committee plenum after the 12th party congress in 1974, the party has been taking a serious view of these attacks, defining the duty to defend the party and the democratic movement against these attacks as one of the "four pillars of party activity." A persistent trend among some party members is that they are unwilling to tackle this problem until they see such incidents occurring right under their nose. This kind of laxity could invite violent groups to launch a surprise attack against the party, causing it serious losses. To prevent such disasters, the party will endeavor to firmly establish the required posture.

4) It is an urgent and important duty to strengthen the party's financial activities, place party finances on a sound basis, and, by doing so, to insure the building of necessary material foundations for the development of party activities. To that end, all party members should see to it that they pay their monthly party fees exactly on time, that the party organ subscription fees are collected 100 percent from readers, and that the money from the sales of pamphlets is collected 100 percent. These collections constitute the very base of party finances. At present, in many prefectural party organizations only 40 or 50 percent of members pay their monthly party fees in the month, against the national average of nearly 80 percent in the first half of the 1970's. The practice of habitually accepting such low rates of payment and collection as something "inevitable" should be thoroughly eliminated as a passive posture. It is necessary to make some epoch-making improvements in this area in a manner worthy of a party with discipline.

The five principles of activities involving the party organ set forth "payability" as a principle important to the whole party. In every activity indeed, financial

problems must not be slighted. This is an extremely fundamental principle governing all party activities. The AKAHATA festival this year, while correctly combining politics, culture and entertainment, proved to be a financial success, too, thanks to the fact that the past "practices" of leaving the festival entirely in the hands of festival managers and of relying too heavily on commercial businesses were basically altered, and that the festival was set up basically as a "handmade" festival, with firm arrangements for 100 percent collection of the money paid for all participation coupons. The festival this year thus left an important lesson behind it applicable to the party's financial activities and other activities of party construction, as well as to the party-fee payment problems.

The JCP marks the 60th anniversary of its founding in July. Recorded in our annals over the past 60 years since before World War II is the indomitable, progressive role played by the JCP which has been leading the Japanese people through manifold difficulties and vicissitudes toward the goal of achieving the progressive development of Japanese society while protecting the true interests of the nation and the people. And this record is emblazoned with the immortal exploits of our pioneers and comrades who perished while performing revolutionary tasks.

Today the JCP and the Japanese people are faced with a serious situation which concerns Japan's future. In this historic crisis, confronting world capitalism, including capitalism in Japan, the party must imbue its entire rank and file with a sense of pride as members of a party which has been charting jointly with the people a brilliant path to the democratic resurrection of Japan and social progress. It must also imbue its rank and file with the scientific militancy and the indomitable spirit which generally characterize the 60-year party history. With this pride and spirit, the entire party must do its utmost to protect the interests of the people and realize a peaceful and progressive Japan.

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ECONOMIC

STAGNANT EXPORT INDUSTRIES OUTLINE

Tokyo EKONOMISTO in Japanese 18 May 82 pp 24-27

[Article by Keiji Ikehata: "Stagnant Export Industries"]

[Summary] Audio equipment VTR (video tape recorder), watches, etc., were overstocked in the United States and Europe and became a cause of stagnant Japanese exports. Various industrial sectors whose exports continued to expand in the past are now suffering from overstocks and are in need of inventory adjustments. Manufacturers are hoping to decrease overseas stocks as soon as possible, but the prospect does not look very promising.

Audio industry:

Exports to Europe increased 40 percent from 1979 to 1980, and audio manufacturers shipped 40 percent more audio equipment in May and June 1981 aimed at Christmas sales. However, the sudden fall of European currencies and the price increase of 30 percent on the average for audio equipment, together with decreased consumption, made the sale during the Christmas season in 1981, 10 percent below that of 1980. As a result of the slow-down of sales, consolidated stocks increased from ¥50 billion at the end of September 1980 to ¥85.9 billion at the end of December 1981.

In the United States, stores specializing in audio equipment supplied by Japanese audio manufacturers suffered from high interest rates and their sales became lethargic. Manufacturers have been taking very aggressive measures to increase sales, especially for the 1982 Christmas season, although the export for this year's Christmas season could be initiated by using last year's stock. The chief of the planning division at Pioneer Electric Co., Mr Inagaki, said, "Real active moves will take place next year. This year's production is 20 percent below that of last year."

VTR:

Unlike the audio equipment which increased rapidly in stock in Europe, the overstock of VTR's in the United States has become a problem. Home appliance industries produced 400,000-500,000 VTR's at the beginning of 1981, and they increased production to 1.1-1.2 million units by the fall of 1981, anticipating that they could expand sales. They exported 2,374,000 units to the United States. However, demand did not increase as they had expected. Dealer

inventories reached 400,000-500,000 units this year from 100,000 units in the spring of last year. As a result of the slow demand, the price collapsed, and this year's VTR exports from January to March stood at 580,000 units, 70 percent of last year's exports which had amounted to 800,000 units. "Overstock can be used up by this fall," said Mr Moriyama, chief of the research division of the Electric Industries Association of Japan. Production, including the domestic supply, this year was 860,000 units in January and 1.02 million units in February. Business circles expect that this year's total VTR production will increase 28.2 percent, equivalent to 12.2 million units and exports will increase 31.9 percent, equivalent to 9.7 million units. VTR export to Europe this year from January to March was 2.29 million units compared to 2.5 million units from October to December 1981.

Watches:

Watch manufacturers whose export totals 80 percent of their products are considered one of the top exporters in Japan. In order to compete with lower-priced watches made in Hong Kong, Japanese watch makers increased their production 40-50 percent and expanded exports continuously from 1979 to 1981. Watches manufactured during the first half of 1981 reached 358 million. Manufacturers started to cut production back after May 1981 and continued to decrease it until this year as the exports began to level off. Watch exports decreased 5.7 percent in January and 8.2 percent in February 1982 from those of 1981. Manufacturers at Citizen Watch Co., Ltd., expect to reduce overseas stocks to adequate levels by the end of this year or the beginning of this fall, at the earliest.

Machine tools, such as NC (Numerical Control) and MC (Machining Center):

Exports to the United States increased 42.7 percent in 1980, although sales had begun to slow down during the latter half of 1980. One of the reasons for the slowdown was less interest in plant investment in Europe and the United States. The prospect for this year's exports, according to the Electric Industries Association of Japan, would be a negative growth, that is, ¥280 billion, or a 10 percent decrease from last year. The amount of production, including domestic supply, would be ¥800 billion, or a 6 percent decrease from last year.

Seamless pipes:

The operating number of drilling rigs in the United States was 4,500 in December 1980, but this decreased to 3,500 in April of this year because of the decline in oil prices. Manufacturers are concerned about the overstock of pipes in Huston and nearby areas, and they are especially concerned about the collapse of prices. The manufacturers announced that they would increase production from 4.2 million tons to 5.5 million tons in 1983, but there was talk about the reduction of prices for pipes among buyers. There is a strong probability that the price may collapse, and manufacturers are determined to reduce the production of pipes from July 1982.

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Shipbuilding:

Receiving orders declined in 1981 as follows:

First quarter:	2,100,000 tons
Second quarter:	900,000 tons
Third quarter:	750,000 tons
Fourth quarter:	420,000 tons

The volume of ship construction on hand at the end of March was 8.8 million tons, of which 6 million tons will be delivered in 1982. The volume of ship construction in 1983 may go down to 4.9 million tons or the bottom line in 1978. Heavy machine manufacturers for ships are concerned about the movement of plant orders. Received plant orders in 1981 reached \$12 billion, although MITI expects to have much lower figures this year. Due to the rise in interest rates, worsening foreign currency conditions in oil-producing countries and increasing risks in the Soviet Union and East European countries, many potential business deals will be postponed.

Automobiles:

The recession has affected the oil-producing countries, and no other markets remain for automanufacturers to expand. The only promising increase can be made in Saudi Arabia this year. Libya decided to stop accepting passenger cars and trucks which it had already ordered. Nigeria also announced a measure to stop importing cars. In Europe, the higher yen rate against European currencies led to the decrease of markets for Japanese cars. In West Germany the market share for Japanese cars (restriction base) which had reached to 10.4 percent in 1980 dropped to 7.7 percent in January 1982. It is said that 115,000 cars, or 10 percent of 1.2 million cars, the equivalent of all exports in the European markets, were in stock. This year's automobile export would be about the same or a little less than last year's which was 6.05 million cars and would not reach the number (6.19 million) announced at the beginning of this year.

Semiconductors:

The 64K memory has captured 70 percent of the American market and manufacturers are expecting to increase sales 20-30 percent this year.

Import and export companies whose prospect was for a 10 percent increase in exports at the beginning of this year have now changed their minds, and say, "From April to September, exports would have negative growth. However, later this year, they would increase to a high single digit number."

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ECONOMIC

JAPAN ADJUSTS AUTO-VTR INVENTORIES OVERSEAS

Tokyo NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN in Japanese 11 Jun 82 p 7

[Article: "Japanese Automobiles and VTR (video tape recorders) Are Overstocked in the United States and Europe and Inventory Adjustment Will Take Until This Fall"]

[Text] A significant amount of durable consumer goods such as automobiles, VTR and watches are overstocked. Each consumer goods industry concerned held back shipments since the beginning of this year and is trying desperately to sell, even by lowering retail prices. Stagnant business conditions in the United States and Europe have been delaying the business upturn longer than anticipated. It will probably be fall, at the earliest, before the prices of consumer goods go back to adequate levels. Business circles are not in the mood to increase inventories even if prices return to adequate levels.

The overstock of Japanese automobiles is a problem in Europe. Exports to the EEC were lower than last year, and sales also dropped much more than last year. Because of this, the number of automobiles in stock has remained high since last fall.

Among EEC countries, West Germany, Belgium and Holland suffered a drop in business the most. Due to a voluntary adjustment forced on the sale of automobiles, sales dropped further. It is reported that during the first quarter (January-March) of this year, sales dropped 20-30 percent from last year. In response to this, various business sectors decreased shipments considerably. The drop in exports for the first quarter of this year to West Germany was 22 percent, Belgium 64.7 percent, and Holland 64.7 percent. The decline in shipments began to reduce stocks which at one time had reached a 6-month supply. However, it will take at least until this fall before stocks return to adequate levels, or a 4-month supply.

The biggest automobile export is to the United States. However, under import restrictions, stocks, including passenger cars and trucks, were only enough to last 2 months in May and they are considered to be short in supply. Supplies of local stocks are different, depending upon the automobile manufacturer. For example, Toyota Motor Sales Co. has only a 21-day supply, but Mitsubishi Automobile Industry has over a 100-day supply.

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The audio as well as the automobile industries are also suffering from an over-supply of stock in Europe. Exports of audio equipment increased 40 percent during the 1980's. Audio manufacturers were expected to have the same level of increase in 1981 and shipped 40 percent more audio equipment. However, the decline of European currencies triggered a decline in local sales and resulted in 10 percent fewer sales than last year.

Pioneer Electric Corporation, the biggest audio manufacturer in Japan, had ¥50 billion worth of overseas stocks in September 1981, but the amount reached ¥86 billion at the end of last year. Since the beginning of this year, manufacturers have been limiting their shipments while selling the overstocked equipment at reduced prices. They finally reduced the amount to ¥70 billion. There is still more audio equipment in stock than desired and it will take several months to reduce the supply to adequate levels.

At present, exports of audio equipment are 20 percent less than last year; however, even if the adjustment of overstocked equipment were completed, increase in shipments cannot be expected. According to the Pioneer Electric Corporation, it is expected that exports will decrease 15 percent during this year.

The electric home appliance industry hopes VTR exports will improve. However, this sector is also concerned about overstock. For the past several years, VTR exports doubled every year. Exports to the United States, the largest importer, began to level off in October last year, making it a peak period. When exports to the United States leveled off, stocks began to increase. Some 100,000 units of VTR were in stock 1 year ago, but within the last 3 months, the figure went up to 500,000 units.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

FIRST ELECTRON-BOMBARDMENT THRUSTER DEVELOPED

OW090941 Tokyo ASAHI EVENING NEWS in English 8 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] The National Space Development Agency has developed the world's first electron-bombardment mercury ion thruster for loading on engineering test satellite (ETS) III to be launched in August at its space center in Tanaga-Shima Island, southern Japan.

An agency spokesman said that if the test succeeds, it would like to develop the thruster into a small rocket for orbit control for a large geostationary satellite weighing 500 kilograms to be launched in 1985.

With its thrust being 0.18 grams, its specific thrust showing propellant use efficiency is 2,200 seconds.

Weighing 22 kilograms, the thruster consists of two engine bodies, two power suppliers and one power regulator with power consumption being 86 watts--62 watts in the engine bodies and 24 watts in power control unit.

As propellant, 600 grams of mercury are replenished per one engine and of 1,500 hours available for jetting, 150 hours or one-tenth are used for the ETS-III.

Officials said that the ion engine system is compatible with those in other countries, including the United States, regarding design and production technique.

The thruster has better propellant utilization efficiency than conventional chemical rockets since external electric energy is used for particle acceleration to get thrust, the spokesman added.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

NEW FUNCTION SEMICONDUCTOR MAKES 10 PATENT APPLICATIONS

Tokyo NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN in Japanese 18 Jun 82 p 6

[Text] It was revealed on 17 June that the "New Function Semiconductor Research and Development Foundation" (Chaired by Sadakazu Shindo, Chairman of Mitsubishi Electric), which was created under the auspices of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, has already made more than 10 patent applications since it was established last August. The foundation is a government industry joint organization which was created for the sole purpose of developing super LSI's. The fact that the foundation has already started to show concrete results in making patent applications indicates Japan's high standard in semiconductor technology. On the basis of these results, the foundation is planning to hold a public symposium entitled the "New Function Semiconductor Technology Symposium" on 19 and 20 July.

Foundation officials mentioned that "because of the highly confidential nature of patent applications, their details cannot be disclosed." These patent applications, however, are thought to be super-lattice elements, three-dimensional circuit elements and environmental hazard resistant elements.

The July symposium will discuss the current production technology of gallium arsenide, which is getting attention as a new semiconductor material in place of silicon.

The foundation consists of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the Industrial Science and Technology Agency and some national universities, Oki Electric, Sanyo Electric, Sharp, Sumitomo Electric, Toshiba, NEC, Hitachi, Fujitsu, Matsushita Electric, Mitsubishi Electric and Sony.

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